OBSERVATIONS

VPON THE

Liues of

ALEXANDER, CAESAR,

SCIPIO.

Newly Engliſhed.

12 5 35

LONDON

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Will. Sancr A.C.
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TO THE RIGHT

Worſhipfull, my much reſpected Friend, *Nicholas Strangways*, Eſquire, as much happineſſe is wiſhed, as his owne heart can deſire.

GOod Sir, our Engliſh dedications are grown of late like our Italiã paintings, Faire colours laid on illfauored faces: moſt men preferring reſpects before deſerts, yeelding deuotion, vvhere none is due; And cannonizing thoſe for

Learnings ſaints, who neuer was kalandred for other (occaſioned by their ignorance) thã enemies vnto knowledge. Wherefore, that I may not make a god of a golden calfe; nor bee ſubiect to the *riſum teneatis* of *Horace*, by ioyning to a humane ſhape, an Aſſes head: I thought good to conſecrate theſe few tranſlated lines to one, whoſe skill in the language vvhence they haue their life, whoſe loue vnto learning, which I know to be vnfeigned, and whoſe experience in theſe matters, whereof my Authour entreateth (beſides the priuat reſpects of mine own

eſpeciall

eſpeciall loue) hath made euery way moſt fit and moſt vvorthy of them. But not to inlarge my ſelfe vvith any more ample ſpacious-nes, in any of theſe points, leaſt I ſhould as wel incurre the cenſure of flatterie (which mine owne nature invvardly hateth) as alſo breake the bounds of an Epiſtle (vvhich moſt mens diſcretion I knovv condemneth) let me but craue the kind acceptance of theſe my indeuors, and I vvill indeuor to deſerue your kindneſſe. And ſo moſt kindly recommending my ſelfe vnto you, I bid you moſt heartely farevvell.

I. B. B. His Alexander Magnus.

TO THE MOST noble Philip Emanuel

Prince of Piemont.

Long sithence, haue I had a most earnest and intensiue desire to offer some thing vnto your Highnesse, *which should not only beare witnes of my true deuotion, but also bring with it a kind of correspondency and conueniency agreeable to the greatnesse of your mind.*

mind. Behold then how that Alexander *the great (a king of valour and fame immortall) doth here, as it were, on the sodaine presentlie afford me this happie aduenture. Whose picture I present vnto your view, as liuelie perhaps and as naturall, as that of* Apelles *or any other whatsoeuer. For where can* Alexander *be better lodged (being the sonne of* Philip*) than in the handes of* Philip Emanuel, *son vnto* Charles Emanuel, *the most inuincible Duke of Sauoy? Or who euer had in so tender an age a greater sympathy, either in exercise of Armes, in managing a Force, or in the apprehension of most noble and strange affaires, and in euerie*

other

other part, worthy eyther a gentleman, or an excellent Prince, with that famous king, than your highnes hath. Let it then vouchsafe to accept of this my best good will, which first mooued me to make this gift, with curtesie equal vnto that, wherewith Alexander *was also wont to receiue the base presents of the basest nations, and with an heroical kindnes, to magnifie & commend them. Whereupon relying, I most humblie kisse your Highnesse hands. From the house of signior* Antonio Forno. *Oct.* 20. *Anno.* 1600.

Your Highnes most
deuoted. *I. B.*

I. B. B. His Alexander *Magnus.*

NEuer anie man liuing, attained vnto so high a pitche of renowme & glorie; or to so great, so ample, and so large an Empire, as well amongst the Barbarians, as the Grecians, as did *Alexander* the Macedon: who for this cause by the vniuersal consent of all nations, obtained the firname of *Great.*

Now for his better inabling in the meanes whereby hee attained to so incomparable greatnes, he had two speci-

all

all helps; the one of Nature, the other of Industrie. By Nature he was indowed with a minde most couragiouslie affected, & with an able body most soundly disposed: For first, to discourse of his bodie, of countenance hee was louelie; in aspect amiable, and full of fauour; of complexion faire, mixed with a certain delicate rednes, principallie appearing in his face and stomach; his breath was exceeding sweet; and from each part of his whole body issued foorth a certaine odoriferous vapour, wherewith he perfumed all his apparell: which *Plutarch* censured to haue proceeded from the heat of his complexion; and that from thence, grew his inclination to drinke, his stoutnes of heart, and resolution in battaile. Hee was most actiue both of Hand & Foot: & as touching his Hand, *Plutarch* reporteth, that *Pyrrhus* king of the Epirots was in this, as also in the vehemency of his lookes very like vnto him: whereupon happily *Apelles*, desirous

ſirous to expreſſe his fiercenes in fight, grounded his reaſon for drawing him with lightning in his hand. For his ſwiftnes of foot it may appeare in this, That he was encouraged by ſome of his familiar friends, to make triall thereof at the games of Olimp. where he that ſhould out-run the reſt, ſhould be highly honoured. No leſſe manifeſt a proofe did he ſhew of his exceeding agilitie, by that thundring leape (for ſo *Plutarch* tearmeth it) when to the great admiration of all the Barbarians, hee caſt himſelfe into the city of the Mallians. So did that quicke ſpeed of his, when hee leapt into Antilibanum, where ſnaching the fire out of his enemies hands, he brought it to his owne ſouldiers. Yea, long before this gaue hee euident hopes of his future greatnes, by taming and managing the famous *Bucephalus*: for the king his father indeuoring to force that horſe to a full cariere, found him ſo hardheaded, ſo rough & intractable, that forthwith

with he held him vnprofitable & wholy vnfit for seruice. Vpon which dislike, the king gaue order that hee should be carried backe, and returned againe vnto the marchants of whō he had bought him, at the price of 13 talents: which commaundement had taken effect, had not *Alexander* (sorrowing that so likely a beast should be lost) by offring to manage him himselfe, and by forcing him to performe whatsoeuer he put him vnto, or els to pay the price himselfe, in case hee brought him not to a perfect readines, interposed his prayers to the contrarie. His father accepting the condition, *Alexander* nimbly took the horse by the reynes, and perceiuing the beast as he then stood, to be afraid of his own shadow, turned him about, and placed him against the sunne; and then cherishing him with his voice, and stroking him with his hand, with a wonderfull lightnesse, sodainely leapt into the saddle: then falling afresh to stroke him

and

nd cherish him againe, as soone as hee perceiued him to waxe somewhat quieter, he presently slaked the reines, and what with his voice, and what with his spurre, hee forced him to a full carriere, and put him foorth to a speedy gallop, with the great applause and commendation of the beholders; herein no lesse manifesting the goodnesse of the horse, than his own horsemanship. *Philip* (who frō the very beginning) was still afraid least some sinester accident should befall his sonne, when he saw him returne with maistry, could not for ioy abstayne from weeping. Neither was he any sooner dismounted, but tenderly embracing and kissing him, said thus vnto him: *My sonne, thou must prouide thee of another kingdome; for I see that Macedon is too little to containe the greatnesse of thy courage.*

As touching his Mind, he was furnished with vnderstanding, capable of euery great enterprise: insomuch that he did not onely apply himselfe to the

study

ſtudy of eloquence, and to al thoſe good parts, which ſerue to adorne the mind, as to ſpeake well, and to carry a reputation of good behauiour, and of whatſoeuer els belonged to a ciuile life: but alſo vnto Phyſicke, wherein for his owne delight, and ſometime to paſſe the time away (as I take it) he inuented certaine medicines, and framed ſome rules, how to preſerue his life, and continue his body in health. With meane matters, and of baſe conceit, hee was no way delighted; whereof he gaue a moſt noted teſtimonie in his (as yet) moſt green and tender yeares: for in the abſence of his father, certaine Embaſſadors comming out of Perſia vnto Pella, he entertained them with no leſſe honorable diſcourſe, thā delicious banquets; not queſtioning them of the golden vines or pleaſant gardens of Babylon, or of the abiliments of the king, or ſuch like curioſities, but of matters of weight and importaunce; as, how many men at Armes their ſtate

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mainteined, how many foot, and how many horſe, what furniture, what captaines, and which was the ſhorteſt Cut by ſea into Perſia? VVith which and other the like demaunds, no whit childiſh or idle, he poſſeſſed thoſe perſonages with admiration of his capacity, vnderſtanding, and haughtie ſpirit.

Neither had he leſſe helpes, partly ingrafted in him by the induſtrie of his father, partly by the inſtructions of his gouernors. By his Fathers appointment he had *Leonidas* for his gouernour (or as we may tearme him) his tutor or director; *Ariſtotle* for his maiſter. How hee was tutored by his gouernour, may be coniectured by that meſſage, which himſelfe ſent vnto the Princeſſe *Ada*; who being Queene of Caria, had adopted him her ſonne, and daily ſent him great varietie of delicate viands, of ſweet confections, and other inticing allurements for the belly; and laſtly, cookes and workers in paſte, men of ex-

quisit excellencie in that mysterie: but he returned word by them, That he had no need of those vanities, for *Leonidas* his gouernour had giuen him farre better; as to march by night, and to rise before day: and these did serue to prouide him his dinner; and at dinner to eat little, did giue him appetite to his supper.

And his Gouernor went oftentimes to visit the presses, wherein the furniture of his bedding lay, and part of his wardrobe, to see if his mother hath hid any such toyes and knackes amongst them. He had likewise for his mayster, *Aristotle* the Philosopher, a man most learned and excellent in all knowledge and learning, as well practike as speculatiue; the like of whom had neuer ben before amongst the Gentils. At riper yeares he made manifest how infinitely he was bound vnto him, and therefore did loue him exceedingly, and did reuerence him no lesse than his owne father; affirming, that from the one he

had his being, and from the other his well being. And in truth, it cannot be declared how much a good Tutor aduantageth a gentlemen. For as there is not any thing in humain action of greater consequence, than to make a good beginning; so in the institutiō of a yong gentleman, a good foundation of learning, and seeds of wisedome well sowne, are of much importance: which cannot be expected of a mean scholler, or from one of ordinary capacitie, but of him, who to the profoundnesse of his wit and judgement, hath added a long and well ordered study, with a forme of teaching not onely facile and easie, but also deep and graue; wherein *Aristotle* was most singular: for no man did euer search deeper into matters of difficultie, did handle them more methodically, or after a playner manner, or did expresse them with words, either more proper, or more significant. Insomuch, that *Cicero* tearmed his writings, *The golden riuer*

of Eloquence. No man ſpake better to the purpoſe (a gift only allotted vnto a wiſe and prudent man) or, did euer manifeſt a wit, more vniuerſall and more like vnto himſelfe, in all that he took vpon him to diſcourſe of: for he was no leſſe admirable in expreſsing mean than mighty matters; in cõmon, thã queint ſubtilties; no leſſe in Poetry than in Oratory; nor in Logicke than in Philoſophy. So that *Alexander* was not onely deſirous to learne of him the rules of Philoſophy, as well ſpeculatiue as practiue, but alſo the Iliades of *Homer*. And that with good reaſon: for ſeeing that *Homer* was a Poet of the greateſt gifts that euer the world had, and one who in his Poemes did firſt of all other caſt abroad the ſeedes of all good learning and wiſedome, it is not likely, that his workes ſhould bee fully vnderſtood of men meanly learned, and ſuperficially ſtudied. And therefore it was *Alexanders* good fortune, to haue as well in this, as in euery kind of humane

knowledge, the most learned person of his time, and the most sufficient. Vpon which reasons, *Alexander* was so enamored with that Poeme, that hee did alwayes lay it together with his poynard vnder his pillow, naming it the Norishment of military vertue; and afterwards did honour it with the richest Casket which hee found amongst the spoiles of *Darius*.

But as *Alexander* was beholding to *Aristotle*, no lesse was *Aristotle* indeered to *Alexander*: for if *Aristotle* did nobly indoctrinate his scholler, enriching both his mind and wit with honourable instructions, worthy a king; so did *Alexander* with incomparable bountie not onely aduaunce his maister, and heapt vpon him immensiue treasures, but did likewise (as it were) adde an increase to his wit, or at least, did inflame and stirre it vp to glorious enterprises, by those helpes which his magnificence did afford it. For how could *Aristotle* haue euer

be enable once to put hand, much lesse
follie to haue finished his hystorie of the
life and generation of all liuing Crea-
tures, and of the seuerall and particu-
lar Natures, without the liberalitie and
countenaunce of an *Alexander Magnus*?
By whose meanes, he being serued by
Fowlers, Hunters, Fishers, and all sorts
of persons, had both birds, beasts, fishes,
and plants at his commaund, and that
in so great varietie, as might be requi-
site or necessary to draw and extract ge-
nerall rules from the triall and experi-
ence of many particulars. So that to
conclude, I know not who may rightly
challenge the greater interest in those
labours, *Aristotle* or *Alexander*: But how-
soeuer, sure it is, that they had neuer been
by *Aristotle*, without *Alexander*, nor by
Alexander, without *Aristotle*, brought to
such perfection as they are.

Neyther ought we to omit the rea-
son wherewith he comforted and in-
couraged his scholler diligently to studie

Philosophie vnder *Aristotle*: *To the intent* (said hee) *thou doe not many things, which myselfe repent me to haue done*. Neyther did hee onely vse the counsaile of *Aristotle*, but he did also intreat *Xenocrates*, That hee would giue him some precepts of good Gouernement. VVherein he was afterwards imitated by *Traian*, who did instantly entreat *Plutarch*, That hee would shew him the way how hee might laudably gouern the Romane Empire.

Of Alexanders two scopes.

NOw *Alexander* thus wel qualified by nature, thus diligentlie instructed by his Gouernour, and his Maister, had in his actions, and in the course of his life, two scopes: the one to subdue the whole world to his Empire: the other, to win vnto himselfe immensiue glorie.

Of the first Scope.

FOr his first scope, manie arguments may be aduced. First *Plutarch* writeth, that hee purposed to surpasse the deedes of *Bacchus* and *Hercules*: wher-

of

of the one by his victories had ouer-runne the East, the other the VVest. VVhereunto some of *Alexanders* fauorits alluding, told him after his expugnation of *Aornus*, That he had by his prowes and deedes of armes, surmounted the prayses of *Hercules* himselfe; to whome notwithstanding, with much moderation of mind hee replyed. *It may please you to say what you will, but as for my selfe, I doe not thinke that all the deedes I can doe, are worth so much as one worke of Hercules.* Hauing had intelligence how that *Darius* his mother, his wife, and his two daughters (who had bin taken prisoners in the battailes) made grieuous mone, lamenting their miserable fortune; hee sent them word, *That Darius was not dead, and that they needed not to stand in feare of him, who did not warre on* Darius, *for any other end but onely to reigne*; whereof hee gaue a testimonie, when as vnderstanding by *Anaxarchus* the Philosopher, that there were innumerable

merable worlds, hee wept for griefe to thinke that as yet hee had not subdued one. And seeing his souldiers weary, and that they followed him with an ill will in those his enterprises which he had in his minde; leauing the rest behind him, he made choise of 20000. foot, & 3000. horse: with which entring into the country of Hircania he made an oration vnto them, wherein hee did comfort them very effectually to second by their good indeuours, his minde and intention; which was to subdue all the earth that was habitable, to the Empire of the Macedons: whereunto (as hee himselfe writ vnto *Antipater*) they shewed themselues most willing. But afterwards, being vnwilling to passe anie further than Ganges, hauing arriued by riuers vnto the Ocean, he desired of the gods, That they would not permit that any Conquerour should passe beyond the bounds of his voyage, and so returned backe againe. Howbeit afterwards

he

he was minded to inuiron all *Arabia*, and *Affrica*, with a grosse and mightie army, and then by the streights of *Gibalter* to passe into the Mediterranian sea, and so home. And now already an exceeding great feare was entred into the mindes of the commonwealths & Princes of Europe & of Affricke, least he should turne & direct his armes against them. Whereupon in his returne from India, Embassadors came forth to meete him, from the Carthaginians and Princes of Africa, from Spaine, frō Sicilie, from France, and from all the Potentates of Italy: but not from the Romanes, who being vnaccustomed to be easilie daunted vpon euery noise and rumour of warre, flourished at that time more than euer before, both in force, in valour, in excellencie of Captaines, and in multitudes of men. For Rome (as *Plutarch* reporteth) was able to make at that time no lesse than 700. and 30. thousand Citizens, all of them of full age, and fit for militarie

militarie seruice. Now the Empire by him obtained, extended from Ganges to Aræ philænorum, from the mouth of Danubie to the Indian Ocean: & from Mare Ionicũ vnto Tana: which Empire was afterwardes subdeuided by his captaines into 30 most ample kingdomes. VVherof, those of Soria (for as we may so tearme them) of Asia, of Macedon, and of Ægypt, did most of all flourish; and in the end were reduced vnder the yoke of the Romane Empire.

Of the second Scipio.

FRom the leuell and aime of his ambitions, shooting at that vnmeasurable glorie, which made him when he came to *Achilles* tombe, euen with sighes to vtter:

O fortunato che si chiara tromba
Trobasti, e chi di te si alto scrisse.

O happy thou, who foundst a trumpe so shrill,
Which did the world with thy loude praises fill.

No lesse manifest and apparant arguments may bee deduced. *Aristotle* hauing diuulged his Metaphysickes, (a worke full of most deepe and profound speculation) he vnderstanding thereof, writ vnto him in an agrieued and angry stile, That by this his diuulging of matters priuately taught vnto himselfe, hee thereby remained without any knowledge, wherein he might shew himselfe superiour vnto others: adding therewithall, *That he had rather surpasse others in wisedome, than in power.*

For the very same respect going to visit *Diogenes* the Cinicke (who would not deign to visit him) he demanded of him whether he had need of any thing? *Diogenes* answered he had: and being asked, what? answered, That hee would haue him stand a little farther off, that hee might not hinder him from the warmth

of

of the Sunne. *Alexander* was so well pleased with this answere, and did rest so wonderstrooken with the greatnesse of his mind, that when hee departed from him, & that some of his familiar friends sported vpon the Philosopher, & laughed exceedingly at him: *Well* (quoth Alexander) *you may talke your pleasure: But to tell you truth, Were not I* Alexander, *I could wish to be* Diogenes. For he did thus conceit him; that *Diogenes* was already (howbeit, by another way) come vnto that pitch whereunto he himselfe did aspire: For *Alexander* by renowned deedes and incomparable prowesse went about to excell all men liuing; and him seemed, that *Diogenes* had already obtayned that eminencie ouer all other, by not esteeming *Alexander* himselfe, who was the cheefest prince of his times, if not of other. Hee signified as much by those words, which he vttered to *Parmenio*: for *Darius*, king of Persia, hauing after his first battaile writ vnto *Alexander*, and intreated

treated him in his letters to accept of tenne thousand talents (which amounts to six millions of crownes) for the ransome of his prisoners, and to take one of his daughters to wife, if so it pleased him, with all those coũtries for her dowrie, which lay on the hither side of Euphrates: he having communicated the matter with his friends, *Parmenio* amõgst the rest plainely told him, As for mee, were I *Alexander*, I would accept of the offer: And so would I (quoth *Alexander*) were I but *Parmenio*. By which words he did clearely demonstrate, that hee did not harbour any ordinary or common conceits, such as could any way be contented or satisfied with a meane or mediocritie.

How he attained to that greatnesse of Empire.

NOw let vs see by what meanes hee obtained so great an Empire, and such

such glorious reputation. Hee attained chiefly to this greatnesse both of Name and Empire, by his militarie vertues: VVherein *Hannibal* gaue him the preheminence euen ouer all the Captaines that had bin before him. *Quod parua manu innumerabiles exercitus fudisset quod vltimas oras, quas visere supra spem humanã esset, pagrasset:* That with a handfull of men hee had ouerthrowne innumerable armies, and that hee had trauailed the vtmost bounds of the earth, which was beyond the hope of man to see. And vndoubtedly, if euer there were any man borne for warre, and for the managing of armes, vndoubtedlie *Alexander* the Great was hee, and one who by nature was indued both with strength and agilitie, wonderfull extraordinarie, being both in body and in minde aboue common credence, resolute and Martiall. Now the vertues manifested by him in his warres, were principally two, Courage, and Expedition.

Of

Of his Courage and Experience.

HIs Courage was so great that *Quin. Curtius* taxeth many of his actions of rashnes: and *Plutarch* ascribeth some of them vnto foolish furie. Yet notwithstanding, the good successe which followed them, and the prosperousnes of their euents did turne them all to his great glorie. *Cum præsto esset* (saith *Quin. Curtius*) *vbiq; fortuna temeritas in gloriam cesserat*: VVhen as fortune did euerie where befriend him, temeritie gaue place vnto glorie. And in another place, *Audacia quoq; qua maxime viguit, ratio, minus potest, quia nunquam in discrimen venit an temere fecisset*: His daringnesse also and ouerbold aduenturousnes wherein hee was too too frequent, may easily be excused, because it neuer came in question, whether he did rashly or no: whereupon he concludeth that albeit hee was much beholding vnto his vertue, yet he

must needes confesse *plus debuisse fortunæ quam solus omnium mortalium, in potestate habuit:* that he was most bound vnto fortune, whom himselfe, more than all the world besides, had onely at commaund: but howsoeuer this may be disputed, true it is, that hee by his examples left behinde him an infallible testimonie, how much Courage can preuail in war, and how much it booteth to incounter daungers. Now the first enterprise, wherein *Alexander* shewed a singular resolutiō, intermixt with much prudence, was in the beginning of his gouerment: He succeeded his father, in a time, when as the state of things was not yet established, nor wel confirmed: Greece had beene rather vexed than vanquished, by king *Philip*; rather pressed than suppressed; rather conquered by armes, than commaunded by lawes: and the Barbarians bordering on Macedonia, vnable to sustaine the seruitude of strāgers, did desire to be gouerned by their

naturall Princes. For which cause his Counsellours were of opinion, That *Alexander* should presently abandon all his affaires for Greece, and that hee should attempt any other course, rather than force, the better to entertaine the Barbarians, & to confirme the Grecians in their deuotion towardes him: but he thinking, *intuta, quæ indicora*; those thinges vnsafe, which held not correspondency; & that these their councels might diminish much of his reputation and authoritie (specially in the beginning of his gouerment) hee resolued (presuming on a fortunat boldnesse) not to yeeld one iot, eyther to the Grecians or Barbarians. Thus then resolued, going against the Triballi, alreadie in actuall rebellion, he gaue them a treble ouerthrow. And afterwards directing his course towards Greece, he discomfited the Thebans, sacked their Citie, and raced it to the ground. By which his enterprises, beginning now to be fea-

red of all men, hee retained the Grecians in their loyaltie, and the Barbarians in their obedience. *Nicit* (saith *Liuie* in the like deliberation of the Romans) *pars quæ in præsentia videri potuit maioris animi, quam consilij: sed euentus docuit, fortes fortunã iuuare*: That part ouercame, at that time, which made shew of greater courage than councell; but the euents did teach vs, that fortune fauours the valiant. No lesse hardiment was that, when as being willing to vndertake the action of Asia, and to wage warre with that most potent Prince the king of Persia, hee did confidently perswade himselfe to bring that war (as indeed he did) vnto a good end; being but 30 thousand foot, and 5000 horse, or (as some would haue it) thirty foure thousand foot, and 4000 horse. *Tanta apparatus temeritate* (saith *Iustine*) *incertum est, virtum sit admirabilius, Alexandrum vicisse orbem an vincere aggressum esse*: It is a question whether it be more to be wondred at, that *Alexander*

ander with ſo ſmall a number ſhould o-uercome the world, or offer to goe a-bout to ouercome it, being no better prouided? In all which notwithſtanding, he ſhewed no leſſe Experience than Courage: for that army conſiſted wholy of old ſouldiers, and men much experi-enced in armes: neyther was there anie one Captaine or officer vnder him, who was not aboue 60 yeares of age. It is not the multitude of men, but the va-lour of them, that ſtriketh the ſtroke in the day of battaile. And therefore wee doe vſually ſee, that mightie and moſt populous armies haue for the moſt part beene ouerthrowne and vanquiſhed by the leſſer, yea euen very little ones; but ſtill ſuppoſing them to be ſuch, in whom military diſcipline & vertue doth flou-riſh. For, *etiam in multis legionibus* (ſaith *Cornelius Tacitus*) *paucos eſſe, qui prælia pro-fligent*: Few haue finiſhed wars by manie legions. Countie *Lodowick da Balbiano*, the reſtorer of militarie diſcipline in Italie,

performed all his enterprises with 4000 men at arms, & as many launces. *George Castriot*, to like good end brought all his actions, with 6000 horse & 3000 foot, being mē of ready seruice. And in truth that Generall can neuer securely come to the tryal of battel, nor safely incamp, whose armie for the greater part consisteth not of old experienced souldiers: a rule euer verified by the most iudicious Captains that euer were, *Alexander*, *Hannibal*, *Scipio*, & *Cæsar*, who neuer entred into any enterprise, but did first of all prouide themselues of great numbers thus qualified: yet of all other armies, I do not think there was any either more ancient, or better experienced, than that wherewith *Alexander* vndertooke the action of Asia, & the Orient: vpon which reasons we ought not to ascribe it to rashnesse, but rather to the great confidence he had either of his forces, or fortune, in that with so small an armie, he dared one time to buckle with 600000,

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and another time with a million of combatants, & ouerthrew them both, with so litle losse of his own people. In these two battailes he gaue many tryals of no lesse experience than valiantnes: for in the former battaile seeing himselfe so much inferiour in number to the Persians, to the intent that he might not be cut off in the midst, by multitudes, hee ranked many more in the right wing of his battell thā in the left, & placing himselfe in the first squadrans, he discōfited his enimies, before euer they could stretch out their companies to incompasse him in. Againe, in that battell which he fought with king *Porus*, fearing the great number of the Indians, & the furie of the Elephants, he would not come to shocke with the front & maine battell of his enimies, but keeping himselfe in the left wing of his battell, he assailed the Indians on the right, hauing giuen order to those which were in the right, to doe the like at the same instāt. Thus hauing put to flight the two flanks, he aduāced

himselfe afterwardes with all his forces against the main battaile, and put them with a mightie slaughter to a speedie ouerthrow. A stratageme afterwardes imitated and practised by *Scipio*, in that dayes fight and memorable battaile, wherein hee ouerthrew *Hasdrubal* in Spaine. Diuers Captaines haue made vse of the like policie, & preuailed very much by it: for by assaulting the flankes, they first held their enimies in suspence, and afterwards destroyed the maine battaile, being destitute and depriued of succour.

In the latter battaile being instantly perswaded by *Parmenio* that (to diminish and lessen that feare which so great a multitude of Barbarians might strike into his souldiers) he would fight rather by night than by day; he made him this answere, *That he would not steale a victorie.* VVhich answere, howbeit to some it may seeme foolish, and relish of rashnesse; notwithstanding to him that will

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judge vnpartially, he ſhall perhaps find no other faults, than that of the wordes onely. For I would demaund of *Parmenio* himſelfe, what aduauntage the night could yeeld more vnto the Macedonians than the Perſians? And he perhaps would anſwere mee, that it would haue hid the fearefull multitude of the enemies. I graunt it would ſo. But withall it muſt bee graunted, that the ſelfeſame night would haue hid from the Perſians the ſmall number of the Macedonians. But this imported nothing: for the Macedonians were fully informed of the multitude of the Perſians, and the Perſians of the number of the Macedonians. Moreouer, I affirme, that the night would encreaſe the multitude, the noiſe and tumult of the Perſians, and make it to ſeeme farre more terrible. And as for the Macedonians, if they were afraid of the multitude of the Perſians, the night did affoord them fitter opportunitie to flie, and to withdraw themſelues

from

haustable; neyther, that by lengthning out the warre, hee did nothing else but exercise his enemies, and that with such successe, that hauing consumed his owne people euen with conquering, notwithstanding hee remayned in the end inferiour to the Romanes, both in number, in valour, and good fortune. But to *Alexander* it did not so succeed: For hee was to deale with the Persians, men more enclined to ease than to trauaile, delicious, effeminat, void of valour, and vncapable of discipline. And besides, it was not fitting for him to leaue at his backe that part of Asia which lieth to the sea, nor on each side of him, so many large prouinces of his enemies. So that with two battailes onely which he fought with the King, hee vtterly ouerthrew the Persian Empire.

Neyther with lesse consideration was that done, when in the battayle of Arbela, *Parmenio* sending vnto him in all haste,

haſt, and telling him, that the enemie aſſaulted his luggage and carriage: he anſwered, That *Parmenio* was not wel aduiſed, or at leaſt had loſt his wits, in that he could not foreſee, that by winning the field, they ſhould not onely ſaue their owne baggage, but ſhould alſo gaine that of their enemies; and if they loſt the field, they ſhould not need to reckon of their luggage, but to doe their vttermoſt indeuour not to die vnreuenged.

He made more account of his footmen than of his horſe: For in that ſeruice hee had not aboue fiue hundred horſe, if ſo many. He made high reckoning of his Phalanxes or foot-ſquadrons, as of them, who for their firme ſtanding, and for the qualitie of their armes, were of excellent ſeruice againſt the huge multitude of the vntrayned Perſians. And indeede, the auncient ranking and marſhalling of troupes, beeing of two ſorts, ſurpaſſeth

all

by pursuing them, and partly not to dissipate that small remnaunt of those that remained) hee resolued not to follow him in chase, but gaue him both time and leysure to reunite his forces, and to put himselfe anew to the hazard of a battaile: by which second victorie hee hoped fully to decide and end that quarell. So againe, after the ouerthrow at Granicus, he expected that *Darius* should set himselfe in order, and should come with a great hoast to seek him in Cilicia. And hauing ouerthrowne that armie, he gaue him time to prouide a greater than the former, and all aduauntages himselfe could desire, to reinforce his battailions. At which time, *Alexander* being in a soūd sleepe, whilest that *Darius* with a million of men marched towards him, *Parmenio* entring his tents, and sodainly awaking him, maruayled hee could sleepe so securely, as if he were not to haue the hotest day and the most perillous battaile that euer hee fought, but as though hee had

had already ouercome his enemies, and finished the warre. At which words *Alexander* smiling, answered him againe: And doest not thou *Parmenio* thinke, that wee haue already ouercome them, seeing that now we are not likely to bee troubled any more with running after *Darius* here and there, as of necessity we should haue done, if he had refused to fight, and destroyed the countrey before vs. I thinke that *Hannibal* following perhaps this reason, did vse lesse expedition in his warre against the Romanes, than most men did thinke he ought to haue done: in that presuming on the aduauntage which hee had by his old experienced souldiers hee might safely giue the Romanes liberty to send fresh armies forth from Rome, and to destroy them still in the fields; by this policy hoping to make himselfe lord of Italy, and of Rome, being destitute of men, and vnfurnished of forces. But he did not consider that the multitude of the Romanes was inexhaustable;

from the fight, and to ſhun the dangers of battaile, and the incounters of death, which by day they could not. To which purpoſe, I call to my remembrance; that which *Ciappin Vitelli* was woont to ſay of the Spaniſh foot: That valiant man did then auouch, That becauſe the Spaniard ſtandeth much vpon his honor, and eſteemes aboue all things the reputation of a ſouldier, hee would joyne himſelfe with them in all enterpriſes performed by day; but in the night, (as the darkeneſſe thereof doth obſcure the diuerſities of colours; ſo likewiſe it leaues no difference of actions, eyther honourable or diſhonourable, becauſe they cannot be then diſcerned) he durſt hardly relie vpon them. And perhaps *Alexander* on the like reaſon, refuſed the coũſaile of *Parmenio*, and ſo reſolued to fight not in the darke, but in the light, to the intent, that the eye of their Generall ſhould encourage the Macedons, and incite them to valour. Knowing again,

how

how much his ſouldiers loued him, and how much they eſteemed him; and preſuppoſing withall, that to a man of courage, of a free mind, and a bold reſolution, nothing could be impoſsible, he was alwayes himſelfe the formoſt to enter vpon any daunger, though neuer ſo great, aſſuring himſelfe that hee ſhould not be forſaken (as he neuer was) by his ſouldiers, but alwayes moſt readily and faithfully followed, and ſerued continually with all the force they could poſsibly affoord him. Building on theſe grounds, he ventured to paſſe the riuer Granico; & after that, was the firſt man himſelfe, that mounted the wals of the Mallians, and that with a terrible leape, violently threw himſelfe amongſt the thickeſt of his enemies.

Hauing once ouerthrowne his enemie (being a lord of as great a ſtate as *Darius* was) and retired himſelfe with a great part of his forces (partly that hee might not waſt and conſume his armie

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all others of latter inuention: the one was the Macedonian Phalanx; the other, the Romane legion; both of them stable and firme of foot: that, like a body all of one peece vnited and compacted wholy into it selfe; this, distinguished into many cohorts, troupes, and into diuers sorts of weapons. The Phalanx, for his firmenesse and greatnesse, is farre better to breake a multitude of men without discipline, than the Legion: & experience hath proued that the Phalanx in a litle time, partly vnder *Philip*, partly vnder *Alexander*, did performe more in thirtie or fortie yeares, than the Legion did in thee or foure hundred: Neither was that so often ouerthrowne as was this. In imitation of these Phalanges, the Swizzers haue ordred their battailions, who being well marshalled, closely rallied, and well furnished with weapons of great length, haue not only made head against the Princes of Austria, depriuing them of the dominion

of

of that countrie, but alſo diſcomfited the Duke of Burgonie, and made hauoke of the horſemen of Fraunce, putting all things in that kingdome in great ieopardy, diſpoſing of the ſtate of Millaine at their pleaſure. It may then be a queſtion, VVhy the Romanes reiected the Phalanx, and betooke them to their Legions? whereunto may be anſwered, That readines to anſwere euery occaſion, is as requiſit in the warres, as force to performe it; wherein without doubt the Legion is more quicke & readie in execution than the Phalanx: and againe, becauſe battailes are not onelie ouercome by breaking (which is proper to the Phalanx) but alſo by diſordering with wearying, with aſſaulting, and continual charging: for which purpoſes, the Legion, that is deuided into many members, parted into manie troupes, & furniſhed with ſundry ſorts of weapons, is far better than the Phalanx. Beſides, the Phalanx in a rough &

vneuen place, is diſunited and opened, is diſordered, and confuſed, and by conſequence looſeth al his force and vigor: For which reſpects, *Philip* was ouercome by *Flaminius*, & *Perſeus* by *Paulus Æmilius*. For the Phalanx vpon euery little diſaduantage of ground by ſuch disjoining becommeth vnprofitable: but the Legion wil prauaile both on plaine and hilly ground; it will doe ſeruice both in euen & craggie places; it wil ſerue both in battailes & in skermiſhes, in aſſaults, and all kind of ſeruices.

But exceeding wiſe was that act of *Alexander*, wherewith by his own example hee weaned his ſouldiers from delights and effeminat wantonneſſe: for hee perceiuing that his armie, by their ſtore of luggage, and by the greatnes of their booties, began to be ſlow, dull, daintie and dilicat, and as it were ryotuouſly fat; hee cauſed firſt his owne riches and his own carriage, then, that of his friends and familiars, to be burned;

and

and laſtly gaue cõmandement to ſet fire on that of his ſouldiers: a point more eaſie to execute thã to determine of: For the moſt part of the ſouldiers (imparting thoſe neceſſary implements to their cõpanions which they could ſpare) burned the reſidue. And for to cut off all ſuperfluous pleaſures from his Captaines, whereof *Leonidas* was one, who carried many Camels laden with powders of Ægypt, onely for to ſerue his vſe in wreſtling, and other ſuch like exerciſes of his body; and *Philotas* another, who had following him twelue thouſand and fiue hundred fadam of nets and toyles for his hunting, and diuers the like delicacies, and peace-fitting ſuperfluities: he gently reprouing them, told them, That he did meruaile and wonder very much, that they hauing ſo often fought with their enimies, to their exceeding glory, did not yet perceiue that they which labor hardeſt, ſleepe more ſoundly than they which liue at greateſt eaſe.

And that comparing their manner of life with that of the Persians, they did not consider, that to liue in delights were but a seruitude of life, and to take paines and trauaile meerely befitteth great men and Princes. VVot you not (quoth he) that the honour of our victorie consisteth, in not doing anie of those things which they did whom wee haue subdued? And that hee might moue them thereunto by his owne example, he practised armes and hunting, more than euer heretofore hee had done.

How he made his souldiers so affectionat vnto him.

BVt because we haue spoken already of the affection which his souldiers bare him, let vs now see how and which waies he attained thereunto. *Alexander* made his souldiers then most affectionat vnto him, by his owne example; for

for himſelfe was ſtill the formoſt to enter into any danger, and the firſt to begin the fight; ſo that many times he was ſhrowdlie wounded, many times expoſed to moſt manifeſt danger of life. Hee tooke part of their paines and of their trauaile, & did indure equall thirſt and hunger amongſt them. And when both himſelfe and his ſouldiers were greatly diſtreſſed by extreamities of thirſt, hee was preſented by certaine ſouldiers with water in a helmet: but perceiuing that all thoſe that ſtood about him reached ouer their necks, as mẽ longing to taſte thereof, at leaſt with their eyes, hee returned it backe vnto thoſe that brought it, and would not ſo much as once touch it; For (ſaid he) by my drinking, I ſhall diſharten all the reſt, and make their thirſt the greater. VVhereupon the ſouldiers beholding their Generalls gentle diſpoſition, gaue a loud ſhout, and eryed with a ſtrong voice, That they would chearefully goe with

him whether ſoeuer hee would lead them; and thereupon preſently made haſte to horſe, affirming that now they had no longer thirſt, and that they thought them ſelues not to be mortall whileſt they inioyed ſo good a king.

He wrought the ſame effect in them by his liberalitie & donatiues which he gaue amongſt them. VVherin he far exceeded all other Princes, as well for the greatnes of his minde, as the quality of his gifts: for he found in the citie of Suſa, beſides all other riches, fortie thouſand talents, which amount to twentie foure millions of crownes: He found as much treaſure in Perſepolis, and mighty ſtore of wealth as well in Damaſcus, as in Babilonia. *Q. Curtius* writeth, that the Perſian ſpoile, which came into his hands, beſides that of Babilon, amounted to a hundred and fiftie thouſand talents. *Strabo* reckning it all together, ſayth that it came to a hundred & eightie thouſand talents, which makes a hun-

hundred & eighty millions of crownes. *Iuſtin* auoucheth, that *Alexander* when he died, left behind him a hundred thouſand talents of readie coyne, and three hundred thouſand in reuennewes: ſo that if hee had a great and bountifull minde in beſtowing, hee had alſo great meanes for to doe it. He gaue to *Parmenio*, *Bagoas* his houſe, the moueables whereof were priſed at ſix hundred thouſand crowns. He gaue to the Theſſalians (his beſt horſemē, on whoſe ſeruice hee greatly relied) a donatiue of two thouſand talents, beſides their pay, which aroſe to a million and two hundred thouſand crownes. He made a moſt ſolemne feaſt, whereat hee had nine thouſand perſons ſitting at his table, and hee gaue euery one of them a cup of gold for to vſe in their ſacrifices in honour of the gods. And beſides other innumerable magnificencies, hee paid all the debts of his Macedonian ſouldiers, which imported nine thou-

ſand and ſeauentie talents, that is fiue hundred millions, & nine hundred and ſeauenty thouſand crownes. Neyther did hee onely inrich them whileſt they ſerued him in his wars, but hee relieued them alſo, and heaped honours vpon them after that they were eyther by their age growne impotent, or by wounds made vnprofitable for warfare. Inſomuch, that when he ſent ſuch maimed or infeebled perſons back to their owne countrie, hee would load them with infinit gifts, writing letters to *Antipater*, his lieutenant, That in al feaſts and publike aſſemblies, they ſhould be preferred before all others, and the places of greateſt honour allotted vnto them, where they ſhould ſit crowned with garlands wouen of diuers colours: and willed beſides, That the children of thoſe men who had bin ſlaine in his ſeruice, ſhould inioy the pay and allowance of their fathers. Neyther did hee honour the liuing onely, but the dead alſo:

alſo: for his will was, that to as many as were ſlaine in the battaile of Granicus (which was in all 34) Statues of braſſe ſhould be erected, caſt by the hand of *Liſippus*, who was at that time the skilfulleſt workeman in the world, in that profeſsion: and *Plinie* reporteth, that in his dayes, he had made ſix hundred and ten Statues.

It was his propertie alſo, for the better incouraging and honouring of his old ſouldiers, and ſuch as had made him to goe away Conquerour in ſo many and ſuch doubtfull battailes, to ſuffer them to weare armour trimmed & damasked with ſiluer: for which cauſe they were called *Argyraſpides*.

Alſo, in a militarie kinde of policie, he did licence his ſouldiers to marry, and to carry their wiues with them whether ſoeuer they went: Thinking by this meanes they would be leſſe deſirous to returne home againe, whereof they had a certain reſemblance as it were in their warres

warres abroad. And that the children of these men, being borne and bred in the field, should with the milke of their mothers sucke also from them a kind of martiall & heroicall spirit. He prouided prouision for their children, and furnished them both with armes and horse. And appointed rewards for their fathers, according to the number of their children. These (who were called Epigoni) being trained vp from their childhood to the vse of troubles and aduentures, afterwards in danger became inuincible: they held the field for their coūtry; war, their profession; fighting, their exercise; and victory their recompence. And it seemeth, that the Swizzers and Germanes following the same reasons, lead their wiues likewise with thē, when they goe forth vnto seruice.

Of his Expedition.

Q. *Curtius* doth attribute much commendation vnto *Alexander*, for his great

great expedition in warre. For, *Nullam* (ſayth he) *virtutem regis iſtius magis quam celeritatem laudaverim*: I neuer commended any vertue more in him, than his celeritie. And in truth, as if hee had been the preſager of the ſhortneſſe of his own life, hee did haſten himſelfe beyond all beleefe, both in beginning, and in proſecuting his enterpriſe of Aſia: for comming very late to the riuer Granico, and being expected on the other ſide by the lieutenants of king *Darius*, *Parmenio* did aduiſe him to deferre the battaile till the day following: VVhich he refuſed to do, for loſing of time; telling him, That Helleſpont would bluſh for ſhame, if hauing paſſed him ſo boldely, hee ſhould feare to aduenture ouer ſo ſmall a paſſage. After his ſecond battaile, he purſued *Darius* with ſuch ſpeed, that in eleuen dayes hee marched more than ſix hundred miles, with ſuch ſore trauaile both of him and his, that it had like to haue coſt them their liues. And in very deed,

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he that will act great matters, hath no greater need of any thing, than of time. And therefore ought a prince to begge these two things at the handes of God, Length of life, and, Expedition in executing.

I will not omit to tell you, that *Alexander* being so complete a captaine and souldier, I maruaile very much, that hee would neuer learne to swimme; a thing very necessary, as he himselfe found it in all occasions of warre. For his men not daring to approch vnto Nisa, a cittie enuironned with a deepe riuer, hee standing on the shore, and looking vpon it, wept full bitterly, that hee had not learned that art, tearming himselfe to bee a man of no worth, and basely brought vp. But because it is nothing to cōquer, vnlesse a man haue the art and the manner how to maintaine and keepe that he hath conquered, hee vsed two notable meanes for the establishing of his Empire in Asia. The one was, that hee linkt him-

himſelfe in alliance with the Perſians, by taking one of *Darius* his daughters to wife, cauſing the cheefeſt lords of his Court to doe the like. VVhereby hee joined Aſia with Europe, far better than did *Xerxes* with his wooden bridge ouer Helleſpont. By this way hee gaue hopes vnto the people ſubdued, of a gentle gouernement, no whit differing from that of their owne naturall princes. And for to ſecure them thereof the more, hee ſuted himſelfe in his apparraile, partly after the Perſian faſhion, partly after the Macedonian. The other, was an election or choiſe of thirtie thouſand Perſians, all of them being yong youths, deſtinated to be the ſeminarie of his warfare. For which purpoſe hee made them to be dilligently inſtructed both in the Grecian language, as alſo in the manner of the Macedonian armes: A pollicie of great foreſight and wiſedome, for that the kingdome of Perſia was farre greater than that of Macedon; which hee could

could neuer bee able to maintaine with the forces of Macedon, and being deuided into ſo many pettie principalities, would turne to nothing. It behooued him therfore to do all he could, to make the people to carry a conceit of him, as of their naturall princes of Perſia: which hee thought to effect, by eſpouſing one of the blood royall, joyning the one nation in alliance with the other. His ſecõd pollicy was, to make great reckoning of his Perſian ſouldiors, transformed into Grecians, for their language and learning; and into Macedonians, for their armes and diſcipline: And by binding them vnto him, both by confidence in them, and benefits towards them. And vndoubtedly, that prince is deceyued, who thinketh that he can long conſerue and maintain conqueſts of importance, without ſupplies both of money & people; eſpecially if that countrey conquered, be as ample, or rather greater than that, by whoſe force hee made his conqueſt:

queſt: for in ſuch a caſe he ſhall be likelier to diſsipate and conſume, than to encreaſe or redouble.

Of other meanes, whereby Alexander got him immenſiue glory.

NOw that wee haue ſufficiently diſcourſed of thoſe his militarie vertues, whereby hee atchieued both the greatneſſe of Name and Dominion: it now remayneth, that thoſe other means whereby he made himſelfe ſo aboue all others both illuſtrious and renowned, ſhould likewiſe be remembred. Firſt, we are to ſuppoſe, that he was ſo ambitious of glory, and ſo deſirous of fame, that in compariſon thereof, hee made ſmall eſteeme not onely of his Empire, but of his owne proper life: For which reaſon, *Plutarch* reciteth, That there was not any thing, that would more mooue his patience, or madde him, than to heare that any man ſhould ſpeake euill of him; and

that

that then hee would instantly become both fierce and outragiously cruell. Secondly, he was truly magnanimous, that is, a worker of actions great and honourable. And because such things as these may be found in euery kind of vertue, hence is it, that for the bringing of his purposes to passe, Magnanimitie, of all other vertues did much auayle him: which, borrowing from euery one, that which had greatest shew in it of greatnesse, of rarenesse, of singularitie, and of admiration, she made out of all of them a most rich and glorious garland, wherewith to crowne her selfe. *Alexander* then became thus glorious by the many acts of his excellent vertues, and by his most high and incomparable valour. Amongst which, those are not to bee silenced, which appertaine vnto Continency: for hauing captiued the mother, the wife, and two of *Darius* his daughters, & thinking it a more princely act to ouercome himselfe, than to conquer others (howbeit

beit he was wont to say, that the Persian ladies made mens eyes to behold them) yet notwithstanding he bore himselfe so honourably towards them, that they neuer heard or saw any thing either by or in him, which might but giue the least suspition of incontinencie towards their chastities. To which purpose, wee ought not to pretermit, that *Philoxenus* his lieutenant in the lower prouinces of Asia, hauing writ vnto him, that one *Theodorus*, a merchant of Tarantum, had two young boyes of most rare and matchlesse beautie, which hee minded to sell, and if it pleased him, he would buy them for him: He was in such a rage, and chafed so exceedingly, that he brake out into these passionat tearmes, *O my friends, what villanie hath* Philoxenus *euer seene in me, that he should procure me so foule a reproch?* Presently returning him very biting & nipping letters, vpbraiding him, & willing him to send the merchant packing. Hee sharpely rebuked one *Agnon* also,

who writ vnto him, that he would bring him a boy of famous beauty. Vnderſtanding alſo, that two Macedonian ſouldiers had rauiſhed the wiues of ſome mercenary ſouldiers, he writ vnto *Parmenio*, (vnder whoſe charge & command they were) that hee ſhould take information thereof, and that, if in caſe the matter were verified and prooued vpon them, hee ſhould then make them both like brute and ſauage beaſts be put to death. And in that letter he wrot theſe words:

As for my ſelfe, I was ſo farre from either ſeeing or thinking to ſee *Darius* his wife, that I could not endure, that her beautie ſhould be once ſpoken of in my preſence. And I thinke that *Scipio Affricanus*, as in ſome other things, ſo alſo in this example of Cõtinencie, did imitate the vertues of *Alexander*. This vertue maketh a man to bee admired through the whole world: For by manifeſting in a matter ſo difficult, that he could controule himſelfe and his affections, it may

ſeeme in the ſight of men, that he paſſed the bounds of mortalitie, and nearely approched to the excellency of a diuine and celeſtiall nature: ſo that hee who is indued with ſo great a perfection, deſerueth like a Phœnix be admired of mortall men, and moſt highly be commended of all.

No leſſe glorious did he grow by his magnificence: not only in giuing (whereof we haue diſcourſed a little before) but alſo in ſpending; for proofe whereof, that example ſhall ſuffice, which he left vnto vs at the death of his beloued *Ephestion*: For beſides that hee commaunded, that in token of ſorrow & of mourning, his horſes ſhould bee ſhorne, and their haires taken away, and that the battlements of the wals ſhould be beaten down, that there ſhould be no ſounding of fluits, or other inſtruments of mirth, for a certaine ſeaſon; he ſpent vpon his obſequies and vpon his funerall ten thouſand talents, which amounteth

to six millions of Crownes.

Besides all this, hee was of a wonderfull generousnesse; whereby he did not onely admire and honour vertue in his friends, but euen in his enemies: As hee well shewed towards *Theagines* his sister, and towards king *Porus*; with whom he had fought very daungerously: And at last being demaunded of *Alexander*, when he had ouercome him, how he would be vsed? He answered him: As a K. should be vsed. And being reasked of *Alexander*, if he would any thing else, replyed, No; because in that one word, King, all other things are comprehended. VVhervpon *Alexander* not onely left him the gouernment of his owne State, but added thervnto many other countries.

There was a mightie prince in India, whose name was *Taxilus*, who comming to seeke *Alexander*, vsed these words whē he came vnto him: VVhat need we (noble Sir) to warre one against another, if thou commest not to take our water frō vs,

vs, and thoſe things that are neceſſary for the life of man; for which only, mẽ of wiſdome and vnderſtanding ſhould hazard their fortunes: For, as for any other commoditie, if I haue more than thou, I am readie and willing to impart ſome of them to thee; and if I haue leſſe than thou, I will not skorne to thanke thee, if thou doe the like by me. *Alexander* hauing taſted with much delight the words which his eares receiued, embraced him in his armes, and told him withall, Thou deceiueſt thy ſelfe *Taxilis*, if by theſe thy fair words thou thinkeſt to eſcape without battaile; No, no, it ſhall gaine thee nothing: For I will contend with thee, though it be but in courteſie; and cõbat thee, though it bee but in kindneſſe, to the intent thou mayeſt not conquer me, either in bountifulneſſe, or in goodneſſe. So *Taxilis* receiuing from him many precious gifts, and returning as great benefits backe again vpon him; in the end, at a ſupper which hee made him, hee gaue

him a health of a thousand talents, which amounts to six hūdred thousād crowns. VVith which donatiue, howbeit the Macedonians were scarcely wel pleased, yet did it win him much loue in those countries, and bound the hearts of the princes and the lords of those places vnto him. His mother *Olympias* hauing intelligence, how much he bestowed, one while on this man, another on that; writ vnto him in these words: I am well content thou shouldest doe good to thy friends, and that thou honour them; but I would not thou shouldest make them equall with great and mightie Princes, and so giue them meanes to get friends vnto themselues, and to take them from thee.

Hee was so bountifull in giuing, that they to whom he gaue, were sometimes ashamed to receiue: as hauing giuen to *Mazæus* his sonne (which *Mazæus* was the greatest person about *Darius*) a second lieutenantship vnto that which hee had be-

before, which alſo was more ample and farre richer than the former; the young gentleman would not accept it, ſaying for his excuſe: How (Sir) ſhall there hereafter be one *Darius*, if you your ſelf make ſo many *Alexanders*? He ſent to *Leonidas*, who had been his gouernor in his youth, fiue hundred talent weight of Frankincenſe, and a hundred of Mirrhe. This *Leonidas* ſeeing him on a time at a ſacrifice to throw incenſe with both hands into the fire, ſaied vnto him: VVhen your grace ſhall haue a countrey where ſpices and perfumes do grow, then ſhould you be thus lauiſh and liberall of them; but now you muſt be content to vſe thē more ſparingly, and conform your ſpending according to your ſtore. VVhich words *Alexander* now calling to remembrance, after he had ouercome *Darius*, he writ vnto him in this manner: VVe haue ſent thee preſents of Mirrhe and Frankincenſe ſufficient ſtore, to the intent that thou mayeſt not be niggardly and

ſparing towards the gods. But wee are not to ouerſlip thoſe courteſies and accuſtomed larges renued by him in Perſia: which was, That as oft as their kings returned from any long voyage to their royall citie, they gaue to all the women of the citie, crownes apeece: For which cauſe, ſome kings would auoid ſuch voiages. And king *Ochus* not to be at ſo great a charge, neuer came there at all. But *Alexander* did not only keepe the old cuſtome of giuing crownes apeece to as many women as were in the city, but alſo gaue two for one to as many as were great with child.

Moſt woonderfull was that his generouſneſſe, when being asked in the laſt act of his life, when hee was euen at the point of death, VVhom hee would they ſhould make his ſucceſſor? aunſwered, *The worthieſt*. Verely, an anſwere that cannot ſufficiently be admired, or celebrated with praiſes equal to his Greatneſſe. He had one ſon and one brother (that,

called

called *Hercules*; this, *Aridæus*) and left his wife great with child: Yet forgetting all interest of bloud, and laying aside all affection of kinred, he nominated for his successor, not the neerest or dearest vnto him, but the worthiest and the fittest for the Empire. I doe not thinke, that amongst all the actions of *Alexander*, there is any that may be compared or may be said to haue approched neere vnto this. It may seeme, that *Cocceius Nerua* the Emperour, was desirous in this point to imitate *Alexander*: For although he had many kinsfolkes, yet notwithstanding, preferring the good of the Cōmonweale before his owne particular interest, hee adopted *Traiane*, who was no way allied vnto him, and did for his wonderfull valour inuest him in the Empire.

But that which made most of all for the glory of *Alexander* the Great, was the authoritie and multitude of writers, which so exactly set downe whatsoeuer his valour effected. VVherein so extra-

ordinarie

ordinarie was his good hap, that the sacred writers, and the diuine scriptures themselues did foretell and prophecie of him two hundred yeares before he was born; as also of his victories, and his conquest of Asia, and of the kingdome of Persia, as it appeareth in the seauenth, eighth, and eleuenth chapters of the Prophecie of *Daniel*. Insomuch that he himselfe entring into Ierusalem after his conquest of Cilicia, met with *Iadd* the high Priest of the Iewes, who shewing vnto him that place of *Daniel*, where it is written of a king of the Grecians, that should ruinate the Empire of the Persians; hee ioyed exceedingly in that, & highly honoured the Priest, and entring into the Temple offred sacrifice to the highest God. But the variety of writers, which were fauored and graced by him, partly in verse, and partly in prose, did consecrate his memorie vnto immortality, as a matter beyond beliefe Neyther was he wanting any whit vnto him-

himselfe, or to rare and singular wits; to whom as well in the studies of learning, as in the exercise of noble arts, he afforded all possible fauor & countenance: insomuch that there was neuer anie time wherein more Poets, or more Historians flourished. And in truth, it little furthereth the fame of a Prince, that he act great matters, if hee haue not some who doe write and register them, and publish thē to posterity: for the fame & reputatiō of Princes after their deaths, depend wholy on the pens of such as write of them. And true it is, *Omnes omnium virtutes tantas esse, quantas videri eas voluerunt eorum ingenia, qui vnius cuiusq; facta descripserint.* That all men haue all of them so many vertues as their wits will, they shall seeme to haue, who shall describe & set downe the deeds of euerie one of thē. But he, not contented with the pens of so many writers, was by the wonderfull arts of *Apelles*, of *Lisippus*, of *Pyrgoteles*, and diuers others, both in colours,

colours, in mettals, in pretious ſtones, and in rich marbles diuerſlie drawne, and moſt liuely pourtraited: VVherein *Liſippus* far ſurpaſſed the reſidue; inſomuch that the common ſpeech was, that there were two *Alexanders*, one of *Philip*, the other of *Liſippus*: and he who knew full well how much was added vnto his glory by the excellency of his workemen:

E dicto vetuit, nequis ſe præter Apellem
Pingeret: aut alius Liſippo *excuderet ære.*

He will'd Apelles *only ſhould him limne:*
Liſippus, *graue in braſſe, & none but him.*

By whoſe example, *Auguſtus Cæſar*, not only by fauouring *Horace* and *Virgil*, moſt excellent Poets, ſought to make his name immortall: but he likewiſe enacted that his name might not be vilified and debaſed, by baſe and vnworthy writers: ſo that although, *Ingenia ſæculi*

ſui

ſui omnibus modis fouit; hee cheriſhed the wits of his age by all the meanes hee could: *Componi tamen aliquid de ſe niſi & ſerio, & a præſtantiſſimis offendebatur: admonebatq; prætores ne paterentur nomen ſuum obſolefieri*: yet he could not indure that any thing ſhould be written of him, or publiſhed abroad, vnleſſe it were ſeriouſlie done, and that by moſt excellent wits: and did admoniſh the *Prætors*, that they ſhould not ſuffer his name to be abuſed by baſe and vulgar conceits.

But *Alexander* was not onely delighted with thoſe artificers, who did excellently paint him with the penſill, or carue him with the chizell: but thoſe alſo which did him ſeruice in any other kind of worke; ſo that hee did wonderfully awake, and incredibly ſtir vp the conceits of the Inginers, and Artificers of his time; amongſt the which, he made exceeding much of *Staſicrates*, a moſt ſinguler Architect. Theſe men paſsing the ordinarie bounds of common artificers,

cers, enterprised to transforme that most high mount called Athos into a Statue of *Alexander*: VVhereunto no other statue (said hee) neyther for noblenes, neyther for durablenesse, could once come nere. *Alexander* who had then other thoughts in his minde, as whose head was busied about greater matters, made them this answere, Let Athos continue as it is, in his old forme and fashion; it sufficeth that it is a monument of the fooliſh arrogancie of one onelie king! for as for me, Caucasus & the Emodian mountaines, Tanais, and the Caspian sea, shal be the bounds and monuments of my victories.

But amongst all monuments likelie to eternize a Princes name, there is none comparable to those cities which are buile in a good situation: for these, being as it were the immortall parts of his power, and the liuely pictures of the founders wisedome, neuer permit his remembrance to perish. VVhat enter-

prise

prise of warre, what victory, or what triumph, did euer bring more honour to *Romulus* than his building of Rome? to *Antiochus*, than Antiochia? to *Seleucus*, than Seleucia? to *Constantius*, than Constantinople? VVhence we may see how much those Princes are deceiued, who thinking there is no other way to get fame, & to leaue their memorie vnto posteritie, saue onely that of armes; applie themselues to nothing but to martiall affaires. Now for building of cities, there was neuer any Prince that got a greater name than *Alexander*; who in thirteene yeeres built more than seauentie cities: of all which, the most noble was Alexandria in Ægypt. In these buildings, the fitnesse of the situatiō importeth most: for as a house cannot long indure that hath not a good foundation, so a citie that is not situated in a good place cannot flourish any long time. The goodnesse of situation consisteth in the wholesomenesse of the aire,

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the ſweetneſſe of the waters, the fertileneſſe of the countrie, the commoditie of nauigable riuers, of ſea-ports, and opportunitie of paſſage and trafficke: for aire, water, and ſoyle, Millaine, Paris, Prage, and Vienna, are excellently ſeated. To the foreſaid commodities are added the riuers & ports in the cities of London, Roane, Antuerpe, Danske, and Ciuil: which cities inioy (al of them) the benefit of the ſea; for the riuers which fall thereinto, being helped by their tydes, do beare ſhips of greateſt burthē, and ſerue as well as a naturall Port. Beſides, they inioy the benefit of the land, becauſe they are ſeated many miles within the countrie, whoſe commodities, as well by land as by water may eaſilie be conueied vnto them.

Thoſe cities inioy almoſt the ſelfeſame benefit, though not altogether ſo much, which are placed in ſome retired bay or boſome of the ſea, where manie riuers meeting together diſcharge thē-

ſelues

fishes and fal into the sea: as Stockholm in Suecia, Bergain in Norvegia, Venice in Italie, Bourdeax in Guienne, and Quinsay in China. There are some also more retired, not having any riuer, as is Naples and Tarantum. Constantinople hath not any nauigable riuer, but yet it hath a channell, which extends it self from the Archipelago to Mare maior, which doth serue it with a great and mighty riuer, with riuers on the West, and another on the East. For conuenience of passage, and of traffick, the lower Germanie is most happily seated, especially Holland, and Flaunders, by whose ports passeth infinit traffick of all the Prouinces placed on the Occidentall & Septentrionall Ocean of the East countries, and of Germany. In such a situation standeth Genoa, in respect of Spaine and Italie. And Turine in respect of Italie, and France. And for this and diuers other reasons, it may be placed amongst the

best seated cities of Italie, and he reputed capable of all greatnes, when as the industrie of the inhabitants shall be added to the happinesse of the situation. But of all the cities that were built by *Alexander* the Great, none more enlarged his name than did Alexandria of Ægypt, placed in an Isthmus betweene a great lake, and the sea, with two Ports belonging vnto it. Whence in short time it grew to be one of the best peopled cities of the world, and yeelded not one iot to any citie of the Roman Empire, Rome onely excepted. But it hath growne lesse & lesse, partly by the incursions of the Arabians, and Saracines; and partly by the neighbourhood and neere adioyning of Cairo: which to say the truth is (somewhat) a better situation, in the midst of Ægypt, vpon the river Nilus, betweene the red sea, and the Mediterranean sea: so that it inioyeth all the forefnid commodities and benefits of nauigation, by the oppor-

tunitie

tunitie of the riuer, and the trafficke of both seas, and the abounndance of all things, by reason of the fertilitie of the countries aiacent. And from hence it commeth to passe, that in Ægypt the vp-land cities are vsually farre greater than those on the sea coasts: As in old times were Heliopolis, Memphis, Tanis, Sais; and in our times, Micale, Nicaria, Girge, Bulacco, and Cairo. Alexandria was in the time of *Alexander*, fifteene miles in compasse: but was more inlarged vnder the *Ptolomies*, and the Romans; for the *Ptolomies* made there their residence, in remembrance of *Alexander*; and the Romanes friended that place more than any other, for the neerenes and commodiousnes of the sea; yea, *Nero* was once in the minde to haue translated the seat of the Roman Empire thither, and to haue called it after his owne name.

Alexander did moreouer augmene the greatnes of his glorie, by a kind of art;

and cunning which he vsed: for being to returne from India towards Babilon, to augment his fame in those countries, and to perpetuate his name, hee did much further it by many inuentions, whereby all his actions were reputed somewhat greater than indeede they were. He caused armes of offence and defence to be formed of a greater fashion, mangers for horses to bee built more high than vsuall, and bits of bridles to be made more massie and more ponderous than ordinary: which he caused to bee scattered and dispersed here and there. Moreouer, he made most huge and mightie altars to be reared, which the kings of Persia held (vntill *Plutarchs* time) in great veneration; and came commonly thither to doe sacrifice after the Grecian manner.

Thus much may suffice for expressing the particular meanes, whereby *Alexander* got him that immortall glorie, which now euerlasting flourisheth as

much as euer it did.

Neyther must we leaue out this, That *Cæsar* wept, when hee beheld the image of *Alexander*: That it auayled *Pompey* not a little, that hee did somewhat resemble him, though more in picture, than in truth: That *Antonine Caracalla* was holden to haue imitated him, at least in bearing his necke aside: That the familie of the *Maleini* in Rome, tooke it for a custome to bedre the picture of *Alexander* about them, as well men as women, in their rings, in their tablets, in their imbroderies, in their needle works, and in all sorts of other ornaments of their person and apparaile.

In what points Alexander may be blamed.

BVt his great prosperities did corrupt, and in many things quite marre and ouerthrow the goodnesse of his nature. For first of all, he much enuied the me-

 morie

morie and remembrance of his own father, though now dead and gone out of the world: and could by no meanes indure that his praises should bee spoken of, or abide to heare but the least commemoration of his most manifold worthy actions. For this, he first fell out with *Clitus*, who at the battaile of Granicus had saued his life, and shortly after slew him. After that, vnderstanding how *Antipater* his lieutenant in Macedonia, had in a great field ouercome the Grecians, hee could not dissemble, that howbeit the victorie did please him, yet hee was not pleased with the victor, liking the conquest, but not the conqueror.

That I may not speak any thing, how willing he was to be reputed the sonne of *Iupiter*, and to bee adored after the Persian manner: by the former, to get reputation and authorities by the later, the loue and good will of the Barbarians: He was a prince much subject vnto Satterie, vnto boasting and vaunting of

his owne actions, which made him beyond all measure exceeding tedious and troublesome to as many as should heare it. For, besides that he himselfe did easily of his owne accord enter into such light vanities, he would also suffer his flatterers to put a hooke as it were in his nose, and to draw him vp and downe as they themselues lifted. Which oftentimes occasioned much mischefe to as many noble and honest personages as being present at these doings, did behold them: for they would neyther consent and agree with this sort of people, in extolling and setting him forth, when he began to brag & crake of his deeds; nor durst they for their liues say lesse than they in his praise and commendation; for on the one side stood indignitie, and on the other danger: shame, and feare, equally possessing them.

Some report, that the delight which he had to bee flattered, grew first from this: That after the death of *Clitus*,

being so surcharged with greefe, that through the extremitie of his sorrow, he was like also to haue slaine himselfe; and after long weeping, lay groueling on the ground, stretching himselfe on the earth, and crying out in most greetious and desperate manner, as one full of affliction. *Aquarchus* entring thereupon into his chamber, began to cry out at the dore, Behold how *Alexander* the Great, the woonder and terrour of the world, doth mourne; Behold how he lies on the ground; Behold how he dejecteth, and debaseth himselfe like a slaue, for feare of the censures and reproches of his rascals. As if, to giue laws, to decree what were just and unjust, appertained not to him alone? Knowest thou not, that the Poets tell vs, that *Iupiter* had the goddesse *Themis*, that is, Iustice, standing on his right hand? And what can be meant hereby, but that only to be right and just, which pleaseth the Prince? These words full of grosse

and impudent adulation, did so bewitch his mind, and so darkned his vnderstanding, that euer after they bereaued him of shame and moderation. For as *Anaxarchus* did insinuat hereby exceedingly into his fauour: so it made *Calisthenes*, (being of a nature somewhat more austere, and aboue all others most vnpartiall) more odious and hateful vnto him than heretofore he vsed to bee, which afterwards fell out vnhappily for him. Flatterie hurteth all men, but princes most of all others, because the greatnesse of their fortunes staues them of a more delicat eare, and lesse capable of truth, and maketh them like little children, to delight in nothing but that which is sweet and pleasing vnto their humors.

But returning againe vnto *Alexander* he was called for a drinker, and that by reason of his dronkennesse (ee did many things little redounding to his honour), as his killing of *Clitus*, and his

burning

burning of Persepolis. Notwithstanding, *Plutarke* excuseth him, affirming, that he was lesse subject unto wine, than some thought he was: and that the cause that he was so accoubred, proceeded onely from sitting so long at the table, which he used more for discourse, than desire to drinke; and that but sometimes, when his businesse was not great. For in time of businesse there were neyther sports, nor feasts, nor playes, nor weddings, nor any other pastimes, to entertaine them withall. Which may easily be gathered by the greatnesse of his enterprises, and by the multitude of those things, which in the space of thirteene yeares, he so gloriously performed. The ordinary allowance, which in the height of his Greatnesse he had for his table, were a thousand crownes a day: And those that feasted him, might not exceed this proportion. *Lucius Lucullus* in one meale which hee made to *Cicero* and *Pompey* on the suddaine, spent (according

gathered

ding to *Budæus*) 153 crownes.

And *Q. Curtius* excuseth him of all vices, imputing them either to fortune, or his age: *Hercule, iuste æstimantibus regibus quæ bonæ naturæ eius, vitia vel fortunæ, vel ætati fuisse.* Truly, so as many as shall justly consider this prince, and looke with a right eye vpon him, it cannot but appeare, that whatsoeuer was good in him, proceeded from his owne nature; what soeuer bad, either from fortune, or his youth. But yet for all this, the breaking of his faith can neuer be excused, than the which (as *Plutarch* deliuereth vnto vs) there is not any thing that did more disgrace the glory of his victories. For amongst the Indians there were a company of warrelike souldiers, stout and gallant men, who liuing for the most part on their pay, offered to serue within the free cities, and did valiantly defend them, to the great hinderance and disturbance of *Alexander*: VVho hauing parled and conditioned with thē, whilst

that

that they were thus hotely besieged, commaunded them (notwithstanding his word) to be slain euery man, as soon as they were come forth of their hold. Neyther lesse blamable was his putting to death of that poore Physician, vnder whose hands *Ephestion* died, as though it had been in his power, when as nature was quite spent, and could not worke any longer in him, to restore him againe, and to giue him life and health.

FINIS.

I. B. His Iulius Cæsar the Dictator.

TO

THE MOST NOBLE Prince, Prince *Vittorio Amedeo, of Savoy.*

I Present vnto your Highnesse a gift: the gift a most Noble Looking-glasse, not of steele or christall, but of wit and valour: By vvhich you shal not see so vvel to compose your countenance, or to trim your haire, as to order your judgement,

ment, and better your vnderſtanding, making it to mount to the chiefeſt pitch of reputation, and to the higheſt ſtraine of honorable excellencie. This glaſſe, is *Iulius Cæſar* the Dictator. I thinke not, but if that your Highneſſe count it a great happineſſe to haue in your Court continuallie about you, a perſon of ſuch ſingular learning, of ſuch liuelineſſe and quickeneſſe of wit, and of ſuch excellencie in armes: Hee likewiſe is to hold himſelfe no leſſe graced and fauoured by you, that hee is conuerſant and preſent with ſuch a Prince, as

beares

beares the name of *Victorie*, & whose deepe wisedome surpasseth his shallow yeares; and whose intendiments of most high matters, extends it selfe beyond the compasse of his (as yet) young & most tender age; and who in all illustrious exercises, and other studies whereunto he applies his mind, makes such happie proofe, that hee seemes not so much by other mens learning to be laboriously instructed, as by nature, and as it were for recreation, ingeniously endoctrinated. In regard whereof, presuming that your Highnesse will entertaine this most

most victorious and inuincible person, with that honor which no lesse befits his worthinesse than your excellence, I beseech your Highnesse, to make me for his sake, worthy of your fauour, as I trust you will. With which hope I most humblie kisse your hands. From my house, the 20. of September. 1600.

Your Highnesse most deuoted seruant

I. B.

I. B. HIS IV-
lius Cæsar.

THE
DICTATOR.

He reading of Histo-
rie (the gouernesse of
mãs life, the guide to
wisdome, the sauce of
painefull studie) hath
so much of profit in
it, as it imployeth of
time and attention, in considering the
causes of the successe of accidents: And
he whosoeuer, without vse and animad-
uersion shall apply himselfe to the rea-
ding of Histories, happely he may passe
the time with delight, because he shall

see most cruell wars, most bloody battailes, and most mightie slaughters of numberlesse armies, without any danger; the shipwracks of huge nauies, the ruins of strong castles, & the sacking of rich cities, without any perill: But let him stand assured to reap no greater profit by this superficiall reading, than such as men get by beholding a goodlie and a beautifull picture. Now if the life and actions of any one person, were euer worthy to be lookt into with a curious eye, and to be obserued and considered with much diligence; surely those of *Iulius Cæsar* were most worthie: who from a priuat fortune, partly by his wisedome in plotting, and partly by his valour in executing, attained to the soueraignetie of the Roman Empire. Let it not then be deemed a task of any slight enterprise, that we doe here shew and set downe the meanes how hee rose to this greatnesse: wherein first I thinke it fit that we proue vnto you, That he had

placed

placed the principalitie and signorie of Rome (or at least an extraordinarie and singular potencie) for the end of his thoughts, & the reward of his labours. VVhich, howbeit, it may by manie and diuers, and all of them, manifest, and irrepugnable arguments, be apparantlie proued; yet notwithstanding, with three or foure only (not to breed tediousnes and satietie) we will at this present content our readers.

That Cæsar aspired to the Highest Greatnes.

FIrst then, imagine with your selues; that whilest in his Quæstorship of Spaine, in the temple of *Hercules Gaditan*, he beheld the image of *Alexander* the Great, on the sodaine, his eies gusht forth into teares: *Plutarch* reporteth, that this did not happen before the image, but when he was reading the life of *Alexander*; and being demaunded by

those about him, what might be the cause and reason thereof? Thinke you not (saith he) that I haue iust cause to complaine, and good reason to weepe, since that in that age, wherein *Alexander* had already victoriously ouerrunne all the East, I haue not as yet done anie thing worthie memorie?

Passing by the Alps, he chaunced to light vpon a verie poore and miserable village: where whilest that his friends and companions, jesting one with another, did merrily demande, If there were any assemblies held in that place, or any Senat-house erected, where the Magistrates might meet? and, if there were much quarrelling & contentiō amongst the principall and cheefest thereabouts, for the offices and preferments of that common-wealth: *Cesar* interposing his opinion herein: I know not my masters (quoth hee) what you may meane by this; but for my selfe I had rather bee cheefe in this little village,

than the second person in the cittie of Rome.

A colt being foled in the stable, with feet like a man, because the hoofes thereof, were informe not vnlike; hee demanded of the Southsayers, What it might import? And they making answere, That this fole did promise to the owner therof, the Empire of the world; hee made much of it, and gaue order that it should be lookt vnto, & brought vp with care and diligence.

His readinesse, vpon all occasions of rumours, and matter of innouations, was a most euident token of this his ambition; for there was neuer anie treason or conspiracie in his time, wherin his hand was not deepely in: one finger he had in that of *Marcus Crassus*, and his confederats; another in that of *Caius Piso*; and a third, in that of *Lucius Catiline*.

The same may also be gathered from the carriage of his proceedings, & from

that vsurping authority and state of his, which (when he might safelie shew it) he did arrogat to himselfe: as, when hee administred the Consulship hee gouerned not as a Consull, but as a Dictator; he forst his Collegue by force of armes forth of the market place, and drane him to that exigent, that leauing the field franke & free vnto him, forsaking all publike assemblies, hee kept close at home till the time of his office was expired: He commaunded one of his sergeants to arrest *Cato* (who opposed himselfe against him) and to carrie him to prison: Hee made *Publius Clodius* to appeare from the Patritij to the people: To his Legions in Fraunce, limited him by the Common-wealth, hee added others of his own authoritie, so that from foure they multiplied to ten: He made warre on whom he pleased; and sent to this Prince, & that State, great store of men and munition, without the consent of the Senate, not so much as once imparting

imparting his determinations vnto them.

Of his plots and proceedings.

NOw to this so ambitious a Greatnesse which hee had in his mind proposed to himselfe, hee partly attained by pollicie, partly by armes: for *Cæsar* was no whit lesse excellent in his working, than in his warring. And indeed, it is a matter most difficult, That armes which are not accompanied with ciuile carriage, and with a certaine dexteritie in contriuing of matters, and in handling affaires of importance, should euer be able to afford to any man, be he what hee will, a stable glorie, a firme greatnesse, and a well grounded authoritie: which the examples of *Pirrhus* and *Demetrius* amongst the Grecians, of *Hannibal* amongst the Carthaginians, and of *Caius Marius* amongst the Romans, doth plainely make manifest: for these per-

sonages (otherwise very singular men) making armes their chiefe aime, did miserablie perish, and ruinated both their states and their fortunes.

But to come to our purpose: wee may well suppose, that without a great traine of followers, it is impossible to effect any matter of importance: And, that he shall euermore be most powerfull, who is held vp and vnderpropped with most dependants, is apparantlie to be seene in all those who haue vndertaken great & extraordinarie designments; as the Aegyptians, the Assirians, the Arabians, the Tartarians, and the Romans: but to silence all others, the Romans, how beit in the managing of armes, they were of great and powerfull valour, and did gouerne themselues in their warres with excellent discipline, yet notwithstanding, if wee will iudge vnpartially, we shall be inforced to confesse, That without all cõparison, their multitudes did steed them

more

more than their valour: VVhereof, this may be a most inuincible argument, That in so many enterprises, they being in many of their battailes, if not in most, diuers times defeated, yet still in the end they went away conquerours. As it is to be seene in the first Punick war; wherin the Carthaginians lost fiue hundred ships, and the Romans seuen hundred: Then, in the second; where *Hannibal* in one onelie battaile which hee fought with the Romanes at Cannæ field, slew more Romanes at that one time, than the Romanes did Carthaginians in all that warre. No lesse experience hereof was seene in the warres of *Viriatus*, and of Numantia, of *Sertorius*, of *Spartacus*; and of *Mithridates*, who in one day only did put (throughout all Asia) a hundred and fiftie thousand citizens of Rome to the sword: and what citie, what kingdome, nay what Empire would not by so great a slaughter haue been almost vnpeopled, vtterlie

spoyled

spoyled and consumed in her forces? And yet notwithstanding, by the inexhaustable multitude of the Romane citizens, so great a losse imported but little to speak of, to the maine and cheefe point of their estate: which makes me that I do not so much meruaile at those conquests which the Romanes brought to passe, as at the forces whereby they were brought to passe; nor so much at their forces, as their wisedome, wherby they got such forces, and so much inlarged Rome, and continually increased their numbers. VVhich was partly by drawing to their owne country the people of the cities adioyning; partly by the deduction of their many Colonies; partly by communicating the freedome of Rome to diuerse cities, nay, to whole and intire prouinces: and to effect, that throughout the whole Empire there should be found either Colonies, freedenizons, or cities, or people; whereof, the one would be glad of the freedome,

the

the other of the friendship of the Romanes; or else princes and kings, who esteemed it as a great fauour, to be coũted friends or companions of the people of Rome. Rome alone, in that sessing which was made vnder *Claudius* the Emperour, was farre more populous, than is now at this day the halfe part of Italy. In the reigne of *Aurelian* it contayned about fiftie miles in compasse, and the suburbes one way as farre as Otricolis, and another way as far as Ostia. VVherupon, and not without good cause, did *Lucan* tearme it, The Capacious citie of humane kind. VVe may thẽ conclude, That he that shall goe about great designments, and indeuor to effect mightie matters, buildeth vpon the sands, vnlesse his designes bee well vnderlayed, and throughly strengthened with store of men. There is not any subject, whereof I intreat more often, than of this, in all my workes: and as I doe mention it often, so likewise there is not any thing,

which

which with more earnestnesse and more vehemencie, ought to bee beaten into the eares of our Christian princes, or that they ought better to remember; Who being most poore in people, yet intend euery thing besides, more tha this, which is the most necessary.

Now *Cæsar* being thus desirous to become the cheefest man of that Cittie which was Queene and Empresse of the world, it stood him vpon to haue so many fast friends, surely knit vnto him in the bands of true loue and affection, as should not onely bee able to counterpoise the rest of the Commonwealth, but also to ouerweigh and exceed them. The State was at that time diuided into Optimates and Populares: The Optimates were those that studied the good of the Commonwealth, and which did sticke and adhere to the faction of the Senate: The Populares were those which did seeke to insinuat themselues into the fauour of the people, and by

that

that means to compasse promotion, and aduancement to the cheifest offices and dignities in the State. The former, gouerned according vnto law and ancient customes; the latter (so as they might obtaine their purpose) regarded neither the one nor the other. But because by the Senat a man could attaine but to ordinary honours, conformable to the laws of the State; and *Cæsar* aiming and aspiring to extraordinarie potencie, whereunto both the lawes and the customes of his countrey opposed against him, he indeuored by all posible means to gaine the good will of the people, by whose fauour he hoped to arriue to his conceited projects: and that gained, afterwards so to suppresse, or at least to weakē the authoritie of the Optimates, that they should neuer be able once to crosse or thwart his designements.

How

How Cæsar wan vnto him the people of Rome.

FIrst of all he wan the good will of the people, by his readines in pleasuring them, and in seruing their turnes, when occasion serued; by his affable behauiour and gentle conuersation; by protestations of loue, and courteous carriage, vsed to all sorts of persons; wherein his eloquence did helpe him exceedingly; wherewith, by a naturall aptnesse thereunto, and his domesticall education therein, as also by his long study employed in the same, he was so well and sufficiently furnished, that in ciuile causes or any other exercise whatsoeuer, he did not yeeld vnto *Cicero* himselfe. But in matters militarie, *Aut equauit* (as *Suetonius* speaketh of him) *præstantißimorum gloriam, aut excessit*: he did at least equall, if not exceed, the glorie of the best. And because eloquence is an instru-

instrument vniuersall and fit for many purposes, especially in a free cittie, I am not able to expresse vnto you what benefit *Cæsar* obtained thereby; yea, what helpes and aduantages it brought him: how gratefull in his dayly discoursing; In publicke Orations one while afore the Iudges, another while afore the people, how it made him to be beloued and fauoured of all men. It is reported, that hee spake in a shrill voice, with a vehement deliuerie, and a comely gesture.

Friendship once gotten, he maintained by great courtesies and kindnesse. Iourneying once on his way, he lighted on a little cottage, belonging to a poore husbandman, where not finding any thing but one poore pallet, turning him to his friends; VVe must (quoth hee) yeeld places of honour vnto great persons; and of conueniencie, to such as are ill at ease: and so would haue *Oppius*, who found himselfe scarce well, to sleep within;

within, and himself with the rest, remained without in the open aire, contented onely with some small couert.

And as he shewed signes of deep loue towards his friends, so was he exceeding constant towards his clients; as he shewed in protecting of *Massinta* against *Hiempsall*. And herein it should seeme, he had very well learned the saying of *Antalcidas* the Spartane, who being demanded, How a man might bee beloued of others? Presently answered, If he be wittie and pleasant in his speech, and good and profitable in his actions.

Now he accompanied all these qualities here mentioned, with a souldiour-like life, with a bountifull and a plentifull table, with a costly house, and richly furnished, with continuall sumptuousnesse, and perpetuall magnificence: all which circumstances, did mightely encrease his credite and reputation with the people. His concurrents thinking he would runne himselfe out of breath,

and

and quickly sinke vnder the burthen of his great expences, and that like a swift corrent, he would by his excessiue lauishing wast himselfe out, began to take no great care in opposing themselues against him, but let him so run on, without regard or contradiction, vntill hee had ankored such deepe holdfast in the hearts of all sorts of people, that at length it proued easier for him to ouerthrow the Commonwealth, than for the Commonwealth to ruinat him. Their inducements were, for that *Cæsar* was not onely of a mild and delicate complexion, but also of a courteous & gentle disposition; he was moreouer very curious in the trimming of his haire, and in his apparaile exceeding neat and delicate: which humour of his, did mightily cousin the conceit which *Cicero* carried of him. For these niceties (howbeit they did discouer in *Cæsars* actions a boundlesse ambition, & a mind of much receit, haughtie, and wholly bent to ru-

nuours and innouations: yet notwithstanding (quoth he) when those lockes of his presents themselues vnto my view, so curiously kembed, and so finely composed, and whē I see him scrath his head with the tip only of one of his fingers, I did thinke it a thing incredible, that a man of that mould should euer once dreame of a tyrannie, or once but conceit oppression of his countrey.

Hee greatly also allured the people with the stateliness and magnificencie of those sports and spectacles which were celebrated by him in the time of his Ædileship; wherein his craft was no lesse thā his cost: for, to win credit, & that not onely at his owne expences but at other mens also, he did solemnize some of his playes in common with *Marcus Bibulus* his Colleague, and some apart; whereby hee gained the grace and honour both of the one and the other. Insomuch, that *Marcus Bibulus* might very well say, that it happened vnto him, as it

did vnto *Pollux*: for as that temple, which was common vnto *Castor* and *Pollux*; was called onely the temple of *Castor*; so the playes and spectacles which were celebrated by *Cæsar*, and him, were wholy ascribed vnto *Cæsar* alone.

Now how much he could do with the people, by many proofes it is made manifest vnto vs: But especially, when as yet being but a young man, in the concurrencie with *Servilius Isauricus*, and *Lucretius Catulus*, Consularie persons, and men of no meane reputation, he obtayned the office of chiefe Bishop in Rome; and with such great aduauntage ouercame his Competitors, that hee had more suffrages and voices out of their owne tribes, than they themselues were able to make out of all of them together.

Of what kind of men Cæsar made choise: and how he woon them.

BVt because amongst a multitude, all are not equally inclinable to worke alterations, and to be tumultuous; because such as liue wel in a State, contenting themselues with the present gouernment, abhorre in a Commonweale all innouations: *Cæsar* did principally apply his wit to make those his followers and votaries, which either, because they saw themselues disgraced, or because they were in want; the one, to recouer the greatnesse they had lost; the other to get out of their present necessitie, did desire a change: for, hee was not ignorant, that these two sorts of men especially aboue the rest, did wish with all their hearts, That the waters might bee troubled, and the state pertourbed.

For the first, his course was this: The whole cittie was distracted into two facti-

factions; whereof the one was that of *Silla*, which then flourished and swayed the State; the other that of *Marius*, full of discontent, and such whose hopes were desperat. *Cæsar* to put these men againe in heart, whose liues lay now in languishing, and to comfort them vp, whose spirits were well nigh broken, (and who, by how much the lesse they were contented with their fortunes, by so much the fitter they seemed for his purpose; as also that he might bind and oblige them vnto him) tooke occasion to celebrate the exequies of *Iulia* his aunt, and wife vnto *Marius*, which he solemnely performed. For, besides his most eloquent Oration which he made in praise and commendation of his kinswoman, he set vp again to the view and sight of the whole citie, the images of *Marius*, with the pictures and portraitures of all his victories: A thing neuer before seene, since *Silla* got the vpper hand (at which time *Marius* was proscri-

bed, and those that were forward in his defence, or any way partakers with him, were proclaymed rebels and traitors to the State, and declared vncapable of all honor and of all office in the Commonwealth.) But *Cæsar* did this farre more boldely afterwards, and far more openly, in those great preparations and garnishments of his Ædileship: for in the middest of his shewes and other pastimes presented (with infinit charge and inestimable cost) to the people of Rome, hee did erect in one night the statues and the tables of *Marius* his trophees, in the most honourable and respectfull part of the Capitoll. On the morrow after, when those goodly works wrought with gold, and laboured with most curious and exquisit workemanship, were seen to shine and glitter with so rich and glorious a brightnesse, euery man remayned amazed, wondering at his boldnesse, whosoeuer hee were, that durst set them foorth in such sumptuous

man-

manner: the fame whereof being voyced through the citie, all ſorts come flocking to look and gaze vpon thē: whereof ſome were not wanting, who openly cried out againſt *Cæſar*, affirming, That this was nothing elſe, neyther tended it to any other end, but onely to make a triall of the peoples minds, and to ſee how the multitude ſtood affected, beeing already inueagled by his pollicies, through the magnificencie of his ſpectacles; and to make apprehenſion of their mildneſſe, and of their gentlenes, and whether that now they were grown ſo tame, as that they would patiently beare the yoke of his tyrannie. On the contrary, they of the *Marian* faction, building on the boldneſſe of *Cæſar*, and ſecuring their ſafetie on the aſſurance of his courage, diſcouered themſelues in great numbers, and with ſhouts, & clapping of hands, made all the Capitoll to eccho and ring againe, with the greatneſſe of that noiſe, which rebounded di-

ſtinctly vpon them. And ſome of them, when they ſaw the images of *Marius* reuiued, could not in beholding of them abſtaine from teares, but for very ioy gaue them free libertie to trickle from their eyes, and with moſt high & mightie prayſes did magnifie the name of *Cæſar*, & extol it to the heauens. Whereat the Senat reſting aſtonished, and like Planet-ſtrucken creatures remayning amazed; *Q. Lucratius Catulus*, a man of great authoritie and good courage amongſt them, raſing himſelfe on his feet, ſpake very ſtoutly againſt him, concluding, That *Cæſar* did not now any longer worke by ſecret wayes, and vnderhand, but by open aſſaults, and by manifeſt batterie, laid ſiege to the State of the preſent gouernment.

No leſſe prompt did hee ſhew himſelfe to be, in releiuing & in protecting thoſe (by this meanes to win their good loue, and draw them to the bent of his deſires) who by reaſon of the miſery and

pouer-

pouertie wherewith they were distres-
sed, he thought would be fit and readie
to serue his designements: for to some
hee would giue exceeding largely, and
to some againe he would send round
summes of money, vpon small or no
vsury. He was the rescue of the indeb-
ted, the refuge of the bankrout, the vp-
holder of wastefull and ryotous, and the
only shelter and sanctuarie for all mur-
derers and notorious offenders. And if
happily hee met with some, to whose
extreame want hee was not able to
yeeld relefe, hee would not sticke to
speake it openly, That such kind of men
stood in need of a ciuile warre.

But for the further gayning of po-
pular affection, of much moment was
the publication of the law Agraria; by
vertue of which law, the *Campi Stellati*,
which vntill that time had continuallie
been belonging to the commonwealth,
he caused to be deuided amongst 20000
Citizens, whereof euery one of them

had

had more than three children: so that he did not only oblige so great a multitude vnto him, so highly benefited by him; but also got the good loue of all the people of Rome, for the readineſſe and willingnes which he alwaies ſhewed in ſeeking how to eaſe them, and so procure their good; which made them deepely deuoted, and truely affectioned towards him.

He promoted men of meane & baſe parentage (for ſome ſeruice he receiued from them) to high honors, & moſt ample dignities in the Commonwealth: and to ſuch as did mernaile thereat, hee would not ſtick freely to tel them, That in the ſelfeſame manner, he would haue exalted murderers, and men of euil action, if they had ſteeded him in any things for the maintaining of his greatneſſe, and the vpholding of his honour.

Neyther was he leſſe circumſpect in alienating any one eaſilie from him, from whom in progreſſe of time, hee

might

might receiue some good, or expect any seruice. Vpon which hope, howbeit that *Publius Clodius* in the sacrifices of the goddesse *Bona*, had attempted his wife, and brought her into publike suspition of adultery; yet notwithstanding, because he knew that the yong gentleman (in regard that he was discended of a most noble familie, and a man of great reuinence, and of an vnbridled and violent humour, & of a most dissolute, and desperate life) might peraduenture in time be made a fit instrument for his designmēts; he would not depose any thing in iudgement against him, but chose rather to repudiat and put away his wife (which imported nothing to the maine chaunce of his designes) than to offend *Clodius*, or to make him his enimie, by whose helpe, and by whose meanes he might much preuaile in many occurrences: As afterwards hee did, in casting *Cicero* out of Rome.

Nor contenting himselfe with this; when

when *Catilines* conspiracie was discouered, *Cæsar* was of opinion, That his complices and confederats, should not bee put to death, but kept in prison vntill such time as they that might with more conueniencie sit and deliberat of their offences: For hee did thinke with himselfe, that these personages, men of nobilitie and qualitie (if their condemnation should be delaid) might happily one day, eyther by fauor or by force, be set at libertie, and thereby rest for the benefit they receiued, most strictly bound vnto him, as to the authour of their deliuerance. All which reasons doe make me verilie beleeue, that there neuer liued any man, who so happily, and in so good an houre, proposed so high a flight vnto his aspiring thoughts; and who did further foresee, all whatsoeuer might make for his purpose; or more wisely direct all his actions, and all his life, vnto that end whereunto he aimed.

For

For, in the beginning of his ciuile war, how wisely he behaued himselfe, it is impossible to deliuer: when *Pompey* hauing giuen out, That he would hold all those for his enimies, and traitours to the State, who would not follow him, and take armes against *Cæsar*; *Cæsar* to crosse him againe, caused it to be published, That he would esteem of all Neauters, as of his friends, and fellow-partakers.

Of his readinesse in reconciling himselfe with his enimies.

THings being brought to this passe, he plotteth the meanes of reconciliation with his enimies, being of opinion, That to any one, aspiring to mightie matters, nothing can more indaunger him, than impertinently to be wilfullie obstinat in his enmities and hatreds; for it is the nature of one enmitie to ingender another, and finally effecteth,

That

That those forces, whereby thou dost imagine to procure thy greatnesse, shall onely bee impawned and ingaged in defence of thy person; therein spending and consuming thy kindred, thy friends, thy followers, and thy selfe: As it happened to *Alcibiades*, to *Coriolanus*, to *Caius Marius*, and to *Cicero*.

But of this our *Cæsars* facilities and cunnings, in deposing of emnities & variances, are recounted many notable examples: for hee fauoured *Caius Memmius*, by whom with most bitter detractions and iniurious tearmes, he had hardly been intreated, in his petition for the Consulship: He honoured *Caius Calsus*, who had slaundered his good name with most reprochfull and disgraceful Epigrams: Hee feasted *Valerius Catulus* at his table, by whom euen on that very day, wherein he offred him satisfaction and reconciliation, hee was with most biting Satyricall verses vnworthilie taunted and reuiled.

How

How he suppressed the authoritie of the Senat.

BVt becaufe hee feared ſtill that the Senat, beeing jealous and ſcarce wel pleaſed with his proceedings, might preuent the paſſage of his proiects, deſpairing euer to be able to bring them to his deſires, he reſolued with himſelfe to throw their authority on the ground, and to weaken their power. VVhich he effected in this maner: There were two great perſons in Rome, who by their reputation & power, ballanced the whole citie, and deuided it as it were into equall parts: both were equally honoured by the Senat, and alike eſteemed of the people. The one (which was *Pompey*) was powerfull by his followers; the other (which was *Craſſus*) as great, by his credite: there boyled in both their breaſts an inueterat hatred. VVhereupon *Cæſar*, well perceiuing that hee could

could not obtaine his purpose without these two instruments (to whome the greater part of the citie enclined;) nor preuaile by the power of the one alone, because it would bee thwarted by the potencie of the other, and so it would proue vnprofitable for him, not to make vse of both their fauours together: he began to beat his braines, and to set all his wits aworke, how he might smoother the fire of their hatred, and make an ouerture of perfit recõcilemẽt betweene them. Hereupon he discourssed vnto them, That by their striuing the one to ruinat the other, they did but double the credit and authoritie of a *Catulus*, or a *Cato*; and that of heads, they became but as followers; and of commaunders, but as fauourers of their factiõs: That this their discord, wrought no other good, but the depression and destruction of them both, as vnable to hurt any but themselues: That whilest they thus foolishly did disgrace one another,

another, and indeuored a mutuall depressing, they did but increase the authority and potency of their enemies, deuiding & distracting the people into many partialities: but in case they agreed, and of old foes would become new friends, they would wholy cleaue vnto them, and do them all the seruice they could: That their power, which now thus disunited, was but weake and of smal force, and lesse firmnesse; would, were it but vnited, be insuperable, and vnable to be ouerthrown. And therfore aduised them to consider what themselues were, and what their greatnesse: And that they would not vpon a fond emulation, and fooliſh ambition, let slip the occasion of gouerning the State of Rome, and the whole world to follow the least becke of their commaund. By these & the like persuasions, now tempting one, now another, hee wrought in the end a reconcilement betweene thē. But by this slye deuise, hee made not

Crassus or *Pompey* any whit the greater, or more potent than they were before; but himselfe by their forces and countenance became more mighty & more powerfull. For hee had no sooner made them friends, but that immediately by their fauor he obtained the Consulship, with the gouernment of France and Illyricum, and therein the leading of a most puissant and mightie armie. And still keeping in with thē both, he bound vnto him both the one and the other, and made them the fauourers and instruments of all his actions. And vndoubtedly, of all the deeds that *Cæsar* euer did, this of all other was the most cunning and the most pollitick: for with an honourable pretence did hee cloake his scarce lawfull intentions, and yet did entertaine them with a certain shew and colour of honestie. For what thing could be more honorable or more commendable in a Citizen (who should bee carefull of the good of the State) than

to extinquish dissentions, & to remoue those rancours and firebrands of faction, which flamed betweene these two most noble personages; and to turne their euill will into good, and their war into peace. Notwithstanding, this so fair an accord caused the ruine of the Senat, the destruction of their libertie, and the spoile and desolation of the Commonwealth: for, as in a ship, when as the burthen thereof standeth equally balasted, it saileth steadily, but if all the lading lie wholly on one side, it ouerwhelmeth and sinketh; in like sort, whilest *Pompey* and *Crassus* disagreed one with another, and their equall jealousies, counterpoysed with equall forces, kept good peace betweene them, the Commonwealth ran an vpright course, and the Senate freely maintained their authoritie; but no sooner was the potencie of these two persons vnited, and swayed all one way, but that the ship, ouerfraught with her burthen, was presently choaked, & suf-

fered shipwracke: for *Cæsar*, by this Triumvircie got the aduauntage of them both, & did mightly ouerway them: for neyther the reconcilement of *Pompey* was so sure towards *Crassus*, nor the affection of *Crassus* so vnfeigned towards *Pompey*, as both their fauours were without disimulation cast vpon *Cæsar*, as the conceited author of their vnion, and of all the benefits which they reaped therby. They graced him, as the onely decider of their differents, the judge of their controuersies, cheefe of their counsaile, and sole vmpire betweene them. Then began he to be followed by those, who liued more vpon the hope of future fortunes, than their present abilities; by murderers, men of mischeefe, seditious persons, disloyall traitours, and such as made more account of tumults & wars, than of peace and quietnesse. The more graue and more stayed sort, the more moderate, and the wiser, did follow *Pompey*. *Crassus* now leaned one way, now

another, and declaring himselfe neither a constant friend, nor a vehemēt foe, did apply himselfe according to occasions; rather feared for his power, than esteemed for his valour.

But *Cæsar*, to bind *Pompey* more fast vnto him, first gaue him his daughter *Iulia* in marriage: and then desiring to manifest this vnion betwixt *Pompey* & *Crassus*, as also in what grace hee stood both with the one and the other, and to make himselfe hereby dreadfull and fearefull to his enemies, as also to get credit and reputation with his friends and faction; standing betwixt *Crassus* & *Pompey*, when he pleaded for the promulgation of the law Agraria, demaunded of them (in the presence of al the people of Rome) whether they would allow and approue his lawes? To whom they made answere of especiall approbation. Then he farther intreated them, that they would vouchsafe him their countenance and authoritie to adde vigour and strength there-

to, in case any man resisted or gainsayed the publishing of them: which *Crassus* did simply promise; but *Pompey* added withall, That whosoeuer should oppose himselfe against them, and vnsheath his sword in that quarrell, he would not only draw his sword, but bring both sword and shield in their defence. With which words, *Pompey* did more offend the Senat than *Cæsar* himselfe.

By this motion, did *Cæsar* make it knowne to all the world, how well hee could handle the matter with these two most mightie personages, how great a stroke hee could strike with them, and how much Maister he was both of their minds and wils.

This confederacie beeing thus established, the Romane Empire was gouerned, as I now shall tell you. *Cæsar* had the one and the other Gallia, and Illyricum, accompanied with foure legions, whereunto he afterwards added six others. *Pompey* with the like legions

possessed

possessed Spaine and Affricke; and to *Crassus* fell Soria, with the enterprise of Parthia. By this diuision, a man may easily gather what aduauntage *Cæsar* had in that Triumvircie, and in the election of the prouinces: For first of all hee was not so farre from Rome as was *Crassus*, to whom by reason of so long a journey it was hard to haue any intelligence in the affaires of the citie: but hee held vnder his gouernment all Fraunce, which extended it selfe on the one side as farre as Rubicon, and on the other as far as Lussa. By which conueniencie of conviciniție, he might very well by his authoritie (in a manner present) and by the concurre of his souldiers vnto their assemblies, fauor and pleasure his friends; and to his followers and confidents (by shewing so neere home those arms and forces, wherwith he was furnished) adde vigour and courage. Besides, hee made not choise of a quiet and a peaceable Prouince, as was Spaine and Affrick, but

of one all inflamed with rumors and reuolts, subjects wheron his valour might more fitly work and exercise it self in victories & triumphs; thereby to make his name more famous, and to ring more loud in the eares of the whole world. VVhilest *Pompey* in the mean while gouerned his prouinces by lieutenants and captains, and by his continuall presence in Rome and Italy, did spend on the old stocke, and consequently by little and little imbased both his reputation and authoritie: For by how much the more the fame and report of the victories and prowesse of *Cæsar* did flourish and waxe great amongst the vulgar, by so much the more did that of *Pompeies* (like a tree ouertaken with VVinter) abate of his liuelinesse and beautie. For it is a thing very hard and difficult, That a captaine, who hath atcheeued a great name & authoritie by his sword, should any long time, laying his armes aside, maintaine that reputation in the quiet

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and idle rest of a free citie: the reason is; Because the common people (who leaueth no man without a concurrent) is neuer wont to afford to any one person, excellencie in many things: Insomuch, that if they graunt vnto one the sufficiencie for warre, and the excellencie of armes, they will againe take from him abilitie for ciuile gouernement and gowne-commendation. So that, whilest *Cæsar* filled Rome with the fame and report of his wonderfull victories, *Pompey* (suffering as it were a warlike Eclipse) did not for all this gaine himselfe the honour of ciuile prudence and popular gouernment: not so much because he did not deserue it, but because the multitude were not willing, That vnto that glory which he had gotten by warring, that other should be added, which dependeth on the art of peace. But *Cæsar*, both by the excellencie of his victories, did win him a most glorious name; and on the other side would not suffer, that

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any matter of moment should bee entreated of in Rome, without his participation & priuitie in the cause; by which meanes hee got him no lesse reputation amongst his enemies, than authority amongst the citizens. And as by the Romane forces he subdued the French: so by the French gold hee yoked the Romanes. And indeed, he can neuer obtaine the true and perfect praise of valour, who to his military profession doth not joine a ciuile moderation: For, arms depriued of the art of peace, are rather instrumēts of a beastly & brutish fiercenesse, than of a laudable and honorable carriage. They raise the greater crie, but they quickly wax hoarse: Their noyse is louder, but their durance shorter; not much vnlike to your roaring torrents, which ingrossing themselues by fals & land-floods, ouerflow the fields with horrible furie and frightfull violence; but that momentary fury no sooner faileth, but they suddainly fall, and shew a

drie bottome, the waters being so wholly exhausted, as that they may be passed ouer drie foote. But they whose martiall vertues, are accompanied with ciuile (howbeit they carry not so great a rumour, nor bring with them so seeming a greatnes as your torrets) yet do they hold out and continew still their course, and with a temperat and more honorable respect preserue their reputations: And though one while by waging warre abroad, let some fewe drops to trickle forth their naturall chanels; yet another while by inioying of peace, they returne againe from whence they came, neuer either altering their course, or wholy emptied of waters.

Of another pollicie of Cæsars.

IN another poynt *Cæsar* likewise shewed how wise he was in his plottings, how politike in his inuentions, how considerat in his courses. The euent was this.

this : There was a Knight in Rome greatly followed, and of great authority, graced by *Lucullus*, fauoured by *Cato*, and almost of all good and honest Citizens : his name was *Lucius Domitius*, who thinkyng he held the Consulship so fast in his fists that it could neuer be wrong forth of his hands, vaunted opẽly, That when he should come to be possest of that dignity, *Cæsar* should be dispossed of his armie, and depriued of his gouerment in France : Adding vnaduisedly to these his vauntes, many threats and menaces (than which, there is nothing more vayne and fooliſh, or bringeth greater hinderances with it, in the managing of matters:) For as they discouer the threatner, who togeather with thẽ doth vnsheath his intẽtions; so do they awake & arme the threatned, and make him to looke more narrowly to his safety. But *Cæsar* knowyng the fast fauour of his freinds, and weighyng the courses by which his aduersaries would bring

bring *Domitius* to the dignity of the Cõsulship; and the daunger himselfe did incurre, by beyng stripped both of his Prouinces and of his army; and therefore stãding him vpon to frustrat words, with deeds, and threatful menaces with stout and gallant oppositiõ: hee induced *Crassus* and *Pompey* to remoue thẽselues from Rome vnto Lucca, a citie vnder his owne gouerment; whether, with them, came more than 200 Senators, and a hundred and twenty Lictors. By which action, *Cæsar* did shew full well how much he could aduantage himself, both with counsaile and authority, and distresse his enemies, otherwise than with wordes. There, when they were thus mette, he perswaded *Crassus* and *Pompey*, that to exclude *Domitius*, they should stand for the second Consulship. And hauing with this resolution returned them back vnto Rome, he did not onely keepe backe *Domitius*, but by meanes of the newe Consuls he obteyned

ned money for the payment of his souldiers, and a proroging of his gouerment for other fiue yeares to come.

How he got the good affection of his Souldiers.

BY the selfe same deuises whereby he gayned the hearts of the people, hee also allured the affection of his Souldiers. For they beyng in other things no better than common men, whersoeuer triall was to be made of the honour of *Cæsar*, and their seruice in that behalfe, they then, euen then, did instantly conceiue a furie, not a feruour only, which made them careless of all dangers and incounters. Whereof amongst the rest, *C. Acilius*, *Cassius Scæua*, and *Granius Petronius*, made most euident and apparant proofe: *Acilius* hauing in a battayle at sea against the Marsilians, lost his right hand, was not onely nothing astonied or discouraged therewith, but shoul-

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dring his enemies with his shield which hee held in his left hand, hee possessed them with such maruaile of his constancie, & such feare of his valour; that quitting their vessell, and leauing it to his dispose, they only sought to saue themselues by flight. *Cassius* hauing neere vnto Dirrhacium receiued one notable wound in his eye, another in his shoulder, and a third in his thigh, with 120 shaftes in his shield; did not for all this forsake the garde of the castle gates, cõmitted to his charge, but fayning to bee willing to yeeld it, he called his enemies vnto him, two of whom approching vnaduisedly within his reach, he grieuously wounded. *Petronius* being prisoner to *Scipio*, vnder whose hands hee lighted, and being offered his life, boldly answered him, That *Cæsars* souldiers neuer vsed to receiue their life vpon gift, but to giue it vnto others: And therwithall taking hold on his sword, he thrust himself through frõ one side vnto the other.

VVhen

VVhen he first began his ciuile war, his Centurions were all of them bound, to find him a horse and a man fully furnished, and sufficiently appointed: The common Souldiers offered to serue him without any pay; and for the effecting hereof, the richest & best able amongst them, did heape on their owne backs, the burthen of the poore and such as had need of their helpe: they susteined hunger and misery, in most miserable & extreame maner, and that not onely when they were besieged, but also when they be leagured others. VVhilest they helde *Pompey* besieged, their corne and all other ordinary foode fayling them, they fed vpō the roots of certain herbs, which one while they did eate mixed with milke, and anotherwhile pounded and so made into bread. One day, some of this bread beyng throwne into *Pompeys* rampiers, he viewing and marking this kind of sustenaunce, brake forth into these speeches: *That he had to deale with beastes,*

beastes and not with men. And fearing least his Souldiers, seeing the patience and the hardnes of their enemies, should be discouraged, he presently commanded those loaues to be taken away and hid out of sight.

This so great an affection of *Cæsar* souldiers towards him, proceeded from many causes: The first from his liberalitie; for one while he would giue them prysoners, another while possessions, & oftentimes corne in great aboundance: and in the midst of his French warre, he doubled the pay of the Legions, and tooke order that it should stil continue. After his warres in Afrike, he made vnto his old regiments (besides the lands allotted thē) a donatiue of 500 crownes in gold apeece (thus *Appian* reporteth;) and to euery Centurion twise as much; and more by farre to his Knights and Tribunes: He gaue ten crownes in gold, to euery man in Rome that was of the communaltie, besides corne & oile.

It is written also by the selfe same Author, That in his foure first Triumphs, he brought into the publike Treasurie 65 thousands talents in coyne, and 20000 pound weight of gold, in Bullion: Out of all which, he withdrew a donatiue of 15 Millions, which hee made vnto his souldiers; being not onely liberall, but also with a tender kind of loue very passionat ouer them: Insomuch that after they had fought any great or terrible battayle, slacking the reynes of discipline, hee would licence them to take their ease and liberty at large.

In his Orations and set speeches, he would not call thē by the name of souldiers, but companions and fellowes in armes, and sometimes *Quirites*. Hee did much delight in seeing them well set out, to be riche and gallant in their armour, adorned with siluer or garnished with gold: which hee did not onely for the beauty and faireneſſe, but to make his souldiers more careful in keeping it,

and more loath to forgoe it. *M. Brutus*, likewise (he that was chiefe of that conspiracie agaynst *Iulius Cæsar*) was of opinion, that the richnes of armes and of other habilements of warre, did adde, I know not what, of courage and reputation vnto men, desirous of honour and, greedy of glory; yea, that it would inforce the couetous miser, rather than he would loose so good a thing, to grow fierce and terrible.

In that hee made shew of great and speciall loue towards them, it appereth: For, that after the ouerthrow giuen him by *Titurius Sabinus*, he would neuer trim his beard nor his head, vntill such time as making their losse his peculiar preiudise, hee had reuenged that disgrace. He seuerely punished iniuries, and such as were treacherous vnto him; he was a most strict & seuere obseruer of martiall discipline: But at all other faults he would winke, as if he saw them not.

How hee behaued himselfe in his Ciuile warre.

BVt because in his ciuile warres hee made no lesse proofe of his sufficiency for politique gouernment, than military conduct; it shall not bee amisse nor much troublesome (I hope) vnto you, if I manifest how herein he gouerned and behaued himselfe. *Crassus* being slaine, and *Iulia* dead, (whereof the one held the father & the sonne in lawe vnited, the other did ballance and equalize their forces) both the one and the other, did set vp this as his rest, To supplant and ouerthrowe his companion. *Calisthenes* being demaunded by *Hermolaus*, how a man might come to be the famousest man in the world, made answer, *By killing him who was most famous in the world*: For in such a case, the fame of him that is slaine, would become farre more famous by the fame of the slayer.

So

So *Cæsar*, to make himselfe the chiefest man in Rome, sought all meanes to ruinate *Pompey*, (as yet esteemed the most famous) so to build vp his owne greatnesse by the downefall and ouerthrow of his corriual; And *Pompey* againe to auoid this dishonor, and to preuent *Cæsars* designes, did indeuour all that hee could to crosse and frustrate his intentions. But *Cæsar* preuailed. For whilest that *Pompey*, presuming more than indeed he should vpon his forces, and suffring himself to be lulled asleepe by his flatterers, would vauntingly boast, *That where he did but set his foote, hee would make whole armies to sproute from the earth, and on the sodaine to braunch out into armed troopes*; *Cæsar* all this while, by neuer dismissing his armies did fill the whole world with the fame of his victories; and by maintaining a continuall disciplined armie, made his souldiers inuincible. And by those fauours and benefits which flowed from his bounty, hee did not onely

indeer them vnto him, but the greatest part also of the people of Rome. So that for the ruinating of *Pompey*, and the rayſing of himſelfe to his pretended Greatnes, nothing was now wanting (for Occaſiõ was preſent & offered her ſelfe an aſsiſtant to the cauſe) but ſome colourable pretext to put it in execution. At that time, the citie of Rome was fallen into ſuch and ſo great diſorders (the Senate and the Magiſtrats hauing loſt their authoritie) that the ſtate thereof ſtood as a ſhip without a Pilot, trauerſing vp and downe, in a courſe croſſe and incertaine. By reaſon whereof, the major part of the Senators (otherwiſe diſpayring to repare ſo daungerous an euill, than by giuing one man abſolute authority) made *Pompey* (who aſpired to the Dictatorſhip) ſole Conſull; to the intent that by the greatnes (hauing in it at leaſt the name and ſhew of a lawfull Magiſtrat) hee might be the leſſe deſirous of the Dictatorſhip,

ctatorship, which in memorie of *Silla*, they did all abhorre & deteſt from their hearts. Hereunto by the counceil of *Cato*, the Senate eaſily conſented, and prorogued withall vnto him his gouernment of Spaine & Affrike. Vpon this occaſion *Cæſar* pretendeth a ſuit, That his gouernmẽt, might likewiſe be prolonged; & that in the meane while he might (though abſent) demaund the Conſulſhip: Both which requeſts were with moſt iniurious tearmes contradicted, by *Lentulus* and *Marcellus*. But *Cæſar* (a man of a moſt reſolute and vndanted ſpirit, and one that would not commit himſelf to vncertainties) to the end he might ſeeme to haue reaſon and iuſtice on his ſide, he propoſed vnto the Senate and people of Rome, conditions full of modeſtie and very reaſonable: For by *Curio*, his agent, he demaunded one of theſe two things, to wit, That either both of them might reſigne their armies: or if that *Pompey* retayned his,

he also might be suffred to do the like: For if both of them (said *Curio*) shall remain disarmed, they will of themselues be reduced to right, and acknowledgment of their duties; or if both of them shall still retaine their armies, they will rest contented with that which they now inioy, for the feare and iealosie the one will haue of the other; but to assigne an army to the one, and to take it away from the other, is but to double that force which is feared. *Curio* was heard with great applause of the people, and so much to their contentment, that some threw great store of flowers vpon him (as they vsed to do vnto chāpions after their victories.) But *Scipio*, hauing deliuered in the Senat, That in case *Cæsar* within the compasse of certaine daies did not lay downe his armes he should be proclaimed an enemy and traitour to the State: the Consuls demaunded of the Senators if they were of opinion that *Pompey* should likewise

giue

giue vp his? almost all of them cryed, No. Afterwards they demaunded again, whether *Cæsar* should resigne his? And almost all of them cried, yea. At last *Anthony* raysing himselfe on his feet, and with great instancie importuning the Senat that to both of them their armies might be confirmed; all of them indifferently approued the motion. Then *Scipio* and *Marcellus*, with a lowd voyce earnestly vrged, that against such a theefe, such a villaine and murderer as he was, they were rather to vse force of armes, than the decrees of a Senat. Hereupon, the Senate without determining of any thing, brake vp and dissolued; and the citie, as presager of her imminent miseries and calamities, remayned full of confusion and sorrow.

After this, a new profer was made in the behalfe of *Cæsar*, farre more reasonable than the first: to wit, That Gallia Cisalpina, & Illyricum, might be left him, with two legions onely, vntill such time

as

as hee might procure him the second Consulship: And that in the end hee would also be contented with one onely legion, with his foresaid prouinces. But *Lentulus* (now Consull) not willing to hear on that eare, or to hearkē to any other his suits, thrust *M. Antonie & C. Curio*, Tribunes of the people, out of the Court: By which his rude and vndiscreet behauiour, he gaue the ambition of *Cæsar*, colour of honestie and justice, to betake him to armes. For the Tribunes departing Rome in most vile and base attire, and comming where *Cæsar* was, gaue both him and his armie a lawfull pretext, with armes to defend the lawes of their countrey, and the Tribunal dignitie, now violated by the enuy of their aduersaries. And it is not to be doubted, that *Cæsar* wanted eyther judgement to make choice of his oportunities to follow his affaires, or eloquence to aggrauate the mallice of his enemies, and the wrōg done vnto the Tribunes; or means

to

to prouoke his souldiers, hauing now their weapons in their hands, to take reuenge both of publicke and priuat injuries.

Plutarch reporteth, That *Cæsar* was indued by nature with a singular and extraordinary capacitie, in knowing how to take opportunities in all his actions and enterprises. Which Opportunitie is said by *Philosophers*, To be the mother of all noble exploits. And in truth, time is a most faithfull friend to those, who duly & aduisedly go on in their proceedings; but a enemie vnto such as rashly & vnseasonably hasten their course, before their good houre be come.

Things being thus brought to an open rent, and a manifest rebellion; *Cæsar* joyning wisedome with courage, made by his Expedition an honourable end of this warre: For howbeit hee had no more than fiue thousand foot and three hundred horse, notwithstanding, with these forces passing the riuer Rubi-

con,

con, the vttmost bounds of his prouince, hee strucke such a terrour into *Pompey*, and so daunted the residue (so braue but a little before in words, and so terrible of tongue) that although *Pompeyes* forces were farre greater than *Cæsars*, yet notwithstanding, hee suddainely forsooke Rome, leauing the publicke treasury ful of riches, as a prey to *Cæsar*, and his adherents. Ingrossing his armie afterwards by the Legions, which followed him one after another out of Fraunce, and with the helpe of those which he tooke from *Pompey*, being thirteene Romane Legions, lying betwixt Italy & Spaine, he so hãdled the matter, that in 60 daies he was sole lord of Italy. And still accompanying his armes with pollicie, he neuer ceased to entreat of peace and of concord, neuer to propose conditions & articles of agreement, neuer to make meanes to come to parly, and to speake with *Pompey* mouth to mouth: he neuer left off to shew how willing and forward

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hee was to preferre the publicke good before his priuat intereſt. By which carriage, he wan the opinion of a moderat gentleman, and made the name of *Pompey*, becauſe he would not lend an eare vnto his juſt-ſeeming demaunds, odious and hatefull to all men; yea hereby ſtirring vp a greater diſdaine in the minds of his ſouldiers, againſt all thoſe of the contrary faction. Neyther was the aduantage any whit the leſſe, which he got by his clemencie: for by ſuffering ſuch enemies as came to his hands, freely to depart at their pleaſure; by neuer bloodying his ſword, but in heat of battaile; and by neuer exerciſing any crueltie againſt ſuch citizens as he ouerthrew and conquered in the field; he ſhewed himſelfe no leſſe a conquerour of his enemies, than a commaunder of his owne paſſions.

Of his Art and Experience in warre.

BVt because his principall praise consisted in armes, I shall not digresse from my purpose, that as I haue shewed his carriage in points of policie, so I also make knowne vnto you, how hee behaued himself in his warres, and by what meanes he obtained so many victories, brought so many enterprises to a happy end, and lastly, how he maintained and continued them to his last end.

First of all therefore, well knowing, that without good store of mẽ he could neuer atchieue any matter of import, he prouided himselfe of a powerfull and a puissant army: he had in Fraunce ten legions, which with the auxiliaries, amounted to no lesse thã sixtie thousand fighting men: He had the French and the Germans at commaund, who stood all at his imployment: Cities and princes he bound vnto him by rich presents,

and

and by the aids of men and munition, which in their need he daily sent them.

But because it is not sufficient, to haue store of men, vnlesse they be trained and exercised in arms, vsed and accustomed to labour, seasoned and hardened with trauell, dauntlesse and fearlesse in daungers; he continually inured his souldiers to all of these courses, and made them therby to become most valiant. And this by many wayes he effected; but those that were more particular and proper vnto him, were these which follow.

How he did inualour at his Souldiers?

HE augmented their courage, first by his owne example. For without any sparing of his owne person, where the battaile was most bloodie, and the danger most euident, hee was alwayes the first in giuing the charge, and still the last in retiring his foot. In those battailes

of

of greateſt perill, he did equally hazard himſelfe, aduenturing his fortune as far as any priuat or particular ſouldiour poſsibly could doe, and forſaking his horſe, would vſually ſerue a foot, as hee did in the battaile with the Heluetij: where *Cæſar, primum ſuo, deinde omnium, è conſpectu remotis equis, vt æquato omnium periculo ſpem fugæ tolleret, cohortatus ſuos, prælium commiſit*: firſt hee commaunded his owne, then all the reſt of the horſes out of ſight, that by making the daunger equall vnto all, he might take away all hope of flight: and ſo exhorting his men to be valiant, he gaue the ſignall.

He did farther encreaſe it by the greatneſſe of his rewards, with which he did honour and enrich thoſe who had innobled themſelues by any honorable action: Hauing propoſed large rewards vnto thoſe who ſhould firſt ſcale the wals of Auaricum: *Illi ſubito, ex omnibus partibus euolauerunt, murumque celeriter compleuerunt*: They preſently flocked from all parts,

parts, and in a trice they filled the wals. Whereupon, within a few dayes after, *L. Fabius*, a Centurion, hoping of the like guerdon, was the first that scaled the wals of Gergobia.

He also augmented it, by that emulation which he nourished betweene his auxiliaries and his legions. In the warre of *Ariouistus*, all his whole armie beeing by the fame spread of the valour and large bodies of the Germanes, almost discouraged and out of heart; after that he had shewn vnto them, that there was no cause of feare at all, hee concluded with this, That whosoeuer was not throughly armed in his heart against this so needlesse a feare, he might withdraw himselfe at his pleasure, & refrain the fight; and that for his part hee was contented with the tenth legion onely to hazard & end the enterprise: whereupon that legion sent some of their captaines immediatly vnto him, to yeeld him all possible heartie thankes, for the

confidence he repoſed in them, and to offer themſelues for all ſeruices, wherein it ſhould pleaſe him to employ them. The other legions preſently hereupon began to charge their captaines of cowardiſe, and to load them with diſgraces, for bearing ſuch baſe and abject ſpirits: and al of them, with a kind of emulation and ſouldier-like furie, did ſtriue to outſtrip each other, in ſeeking means to manifeſt their forward reſolution.

Againe, he did encreaſe it, not by diminiſhing, but by increaſing the fame of his enemies forces: to the intent, that his ſouldiers hauing once fought with a mightie & powerfull armie, might euer afterwards be the more courageous to encounter a meane and weake enemie. For as the auncient captaines exerciſing their freſh-water ſouldiers in the practiſe of armes, made them to accuſtome themſelues to carry ſhields plated with yron, weighing downe two of the ordinary ſort; and to vſe inſteed of ſwords

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certaine maces of wood, which were double their poise; to the intent, that when afterwards they should manage armes in earnest, they might find them more light and easie in the hand, and their bodies more nimbly disposed to maintaine their fight: so *Cæsar* did rather thus extend, than extenuat, to his souldiers the fame and opinion of the forces and multitudes of his enemies; to the end, that by proposing vnto thē that they were to fight with many, and those mightie enemies, they might afterwards with greater courage, and more hardiment of heart, combat with the lesser in number, and the lesse valiant.

Besides, hee did also augment it by his stratagemes, wherof to recount some one or two, will not bee much troublesome. Going with seuen thousand souldiers to succour *Q. Cicero*, and to raise the siege, he met with some sixtie thousand French, very well armed & well appointed; who thinking they were able, be-

cause they were so few, to swallow them vp. Cæsar feigning feare, retired himself, seeking still, as he went, slie and craftie auoidances of daunger, and such places as were of cheefest refuge, of greatest strength, and of most aduauntage. At last, after a long retrait, he commanded his souldiers to quarter themselues, and to pitch their camp in a seat of great aduantage, and there to take vp their lodging; that they shold cast vp their trenches, and raise their rampiers higher by farre, than vsually they were wont; that they should fortifie with great shew of fearefulnesse all entrances into their fort; and that they should do all things in timorous manner, thereby to make themselues seeme more contemptible in the eye of their enemies. All which circumstances they so well performed, that the French doubted not to approch and attempt the trenches: which when he perceiued, rushing out on the sodain with all his forces, he fel vpon them, and

put

put them in disorder; & so giuing them a famous ouerthrow, hee slew a great number, and despoiled them of all their armes.

In the field at Pharsalia, seeing how much hee was inferiour vnto *Pompey* in Horse, to supply that defect and disaduantage, he made choise of six cohorts, to whom he gaue commandment, That they should not once stirre, vntill such time as he should giue them their signe; and that then they should not vse their darts, as they were wont to doe, in darting them against their enemies at all aduentures, but to sling them full in the eies and faces of the Romane horsemen, who were all of them yong gentlemen, fresh and faire of countenaunce: thinking with himselfe, That these gallants, vnaccustomed to warre and wounds, when they saw on the suddaine their cheekes imbrued in blood, and their fair faces so roughly handled, and the steeled launces, like lightening, to fasten so

thicke about their eares, would neuer fight it out, or bee able long to endure the violence of the blowes, or the deformitie of their wounds; as indeed it happened: For these gentlemen, who were seuen thousand in number, hauing put *Cæsars* horse to the worst, being in all not aboue one thousand, no sooner sawe those six cohorts run so desperatly vpon them, laying one while on their chins, another on their cheekes, then on their noses, and lastly on their eyes; but that presently breaking their rankes, & routing their troops, they occasioned thereby the totall ruin and whole ouerthrow of the armie.

Of the principall militaire vertues in Cæsar.

NOw to such great and such valourous forces, he added a most excellent art and pollicie of warre, whereby, both in the greatnesse of his enterprises and

and of his victories, he surpassed all the captaines of former times. For, not to speake of his other warres, he tooke in nine yeares space (as *Plutarch* reporteth) eight hundred castles; subdued three hundred nations; and of three millions of men, which fought against him, hee slew one, and another hee tooke prisoner.

And although there were not any one qualitie requisit in a Commaunder, which did not by a kind of excellencie shine most gloriously in this our *Cæsar*; yet notwithstanding, four vertues aboue all the rest, did principally appeare to be eminent in him, VVarinesse, Hardinesse, Speedinesse, and Resolution.

Of the Warinesse and Hardinesse of Cæsar.

FOr his VVarinesse, and Courage, *Suetonius* writeth of him: *In obeundis expeditionibus, dubium, cautior ne an audentior?*

dentior? That in all his expeditions, it was doubtfull, VVhether he were more warie than hardie? VVhich is a most rare commendation, because that warinesse and circumspection do for the most part accompanie such constitutions, as by nature are slow and dull: whereas hardinesse and courage contrarily associat themselues with chollerick and impetuous dispositions. For warinesse, it is to be noted in *Cæsar*, that hee neuer led his army through places of danger, vnlesse hee were first informed, and that truly and particularly, of the safetie of his passage. Before he went into Brittaine, he personally knew the ports, the nauigation, and the meanes how to come ashore on the Iland: where hee might best disimbarke and land his forces. He would not passe Rhene any otherwise than by a bridge; and in tenne dayes built one of wonderfull and strange admiration.

Hee neuer joyned battaile with his ene-

enemies, if first he made not experience of their forces by skirmishes and light sallies. As in the battaile against the Belgi: *Cæsar primo, & propter multitudinem hostium, & propter eximiam opinionem virtutis prælio supersedere statuit: Quotidie tamen equestribus prælijs, quid hostis virtute posset, periclitabatur*: Cæsar at the first, both for the multitude of his enemies, as also for the great report of their valour, determined for a while to delay the battaile, yet notwithstanding, hee made an assay, by sending foorth daily some troupes of horse, what the enemy durst or could performe.

Had hee receiued any discomfiture, he would not aduenture his fortunes afresh vpon souldiers so lately dishartened, vntill eyther by time or some happy successe, they had forgot their feare, and refurnished their mindes and bodies with their former valour. So after the ouerthrow at Dyrrachium, though some were of opinion, that hee should

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bid the enemy battaile, and defie him afresh in the very self same place: *Cæsar, Neq; satis militibus præterritis confidebat spatiumque interponendum ad recreandos animos putabat*: Cæsar would neyther relie on men so lately dismaied, neither did hee thinke it amisse to interpose some space of time and rest, for the better reuiuing and recouering of their spirits.

Hee would not proceed in any enterprise, vnlesse hee were well prouided of vittailes, especially of corne; least for want of foode, either disorders might happen, or he inforced to giue ouer the action: but being assured of this prouision, hee alwaies made small account of his enemies: For either by force, by art, by violence, or by time, hee well knew how to destroy thē (as he did *Vercingentorix*;) yea, he tamed many of his enemies by hunger & famine, as Phisitions (said hee) do diseases by their diets.

He held it for a Maxime, That it is no lesse commendation for a Commander

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to ouercome by policie, than by the sword. And albeit hee were a Captaine of an extraordinarie courage and boldnesse, notwithstanding hee would willingly forbeare to fight, if hee perceiued any hope otherwise to end the quarrell: As, in his first Spanish warre, when hee might haue ouercome them with the losse of some fewe of his Souldiers, yea had hee but presented his legions; yet chose he rather to conquer them without any losse at all, by circumspect temporizing. And in the warre against *Ambiorix*, hee was not onely carefull of the safetie of his whole army, but euen of priuat and particuler souldiers: chusing rather to indamage his enemies but a litle, with no losse; than much, with smal losse. *Quantum diligentiæ prouideri potcrat prouidebatur, vt potius in nocendo aliquid omitteretur, quam cum aliquo militum detrimento noceretur*: He indeuoured by all the diligence hee posibly could deuise, as nothing could better or more carefully

be

be prouided, that some thing should rather be omitted in annoying of his enemies, than that any thing should any way be therby offensiue and hurtfull to his Souldiers.

On the other side, hee was of such boldnes of courage, that hauing receiued intelligence how the French assaulted his Legions on euery side; disguising himselfe after the French fashion, hee passed through the midst of his aduersaries guards, and was present with his souldiers, before the enemy had notice of his comming. Hee passed from Brundusium to Dirrachiū, in the midst of winter, through the midst of his enemies armies: and because the Legions he left behind him in Italy, came not so soone as hee expected, hee himselfe entring a little vessell and hiding his head with his garmēts, ventured to passe into Italy: which hee had done, had not the winds and the hugeneſſe of the waues hindred his resolution.

But

But what boldneſſe was euer greater than this? when as croſsing Helleſpont in a little boat, hee did not onely auoid *Lucius Caſsius*, one of *Pompeyes* faction, then making towards him with ten gallies; but launching towards him, perſuaded him to take part in his behalfe, and to yeeld and ſubmit himſelfe vnto him; as indeed in the end he did.

Of his Speedineſse and Expedition.

EXpedition, was a property proper vnto *Cæsar*: For when hee was once reſolued of his enterpriſe, thinking delay to bring daunger, & to diſauantage him who is already prouided (according to *Lucan*:

Nocuit ſemper differre paratis.)

And, that to giue time of preparation, was to arme his enemy, & to put them in readineſſe; he neuer ſlacked his buſineſſe, but rather like lightening, came vnexpected of his aduerſaries. And though

though happily he had not all his forces along with him, yet would hee begin with those next at hand, taking order that the rest with all speed should follow him: So that with those fewe that came with him, hee dismaied his enemy by his sodaine approching; and with those multitudes that came after, hee wholly ouerthrew them and brought them to ruine. For as nature hath giuen vnto fishes sharpe & picked heads, by which they breake the waters the better, to make way for the remnant of their bodies: and as Art doth sharpen shafts, and set an edge on wedges, first to open and pierce the bodies, and with the rest by degrees, to breake and rent them in peeces: so, *Cæsar* entring with those forces which hee found in readines, vpon his enterprises, did first worke disorder and confusion in his enemies; and afterwards with those which followed ruine and destruction; by this his expedition, neuer failing to get the

vpper

vpper hand in most of his iourneis. For by his speedy approches hee wrought two effects: First, if his forces were smal yet cõmonly those of his enemies were smaller; or, if happely they were greater, yet vpon the suddennesse of the accident hee found them terrified, and at their wits end, void of order, direction, and iudgement; whereas if hee had giuen them time to temporize, hee had likewise giuen thẽ means of strength & aduantage: but by the vse & practise of this vertue, not only in the beginning, and in the middest of his actions, but in the end also, either by reenforcing his Legions with those forces which daily & peecemeale came vnto him, or by reuolts, or conquests of such as were sent against him, alwaies he went away winner. Yea, sometime by an opinion intertained by the enemy, conceiting his forces to bee greater than indeed they were, and sometime againe by hauing his companies full and his armie strong,

strong, hee wrought no lesse honor and safety to his projects: with six Legions he began the enterprise of France, continued with eight, & ended it with ten. He began his ciuild warre with one Legion, arriued at Brundusium with 6, past the sea against *Pompey* with 15000 foot, and 500 horse; followed his war, and finisheth it with 22000 foot and 1000 horse. He began the Alexandrian warre with 3200 foot, continued it & brought it to an happy end with 5 or 6 Legions. Hee began his warres in Aphrica with 6 Legions, & ended them with 8: and herein did he imitate nature; for as naturall motions goe continually increasing (as fire is by so much the more swift, by how much the more neere it approcheth to his sphere) and all weighty and heauy substances are more violently rapt, and fall with greater force the neerer they come to the center: so *Cæsar*, did continually reinforce and inable his weakely begun enterprises, by the augmen-

augmentation and increase of his forces.

And indeed, it behoueth a good captaine, if hee be to deale with an enemy which is not altogether weake in force, or iudgement, to vse such expedition in assailing him, or art in deceiuing him, that either he may want time to make preparation, or courage to incounter the danger: For vnfortunat must that Captaine be, if wanting neither power, nor valour, and hauing time and intelligence, he do not so prouide and order his affaires, as thereby hee be able to make the desseignmēts of his aduersarie either of none, or if of any, yet of small and contemptible effect.

In the forme and managing of his warres, he likewise vsed this vertue: for if he found the enemy incamped, hee would attempt all the waies hee could to force him to fight; which if hee once intertained, presuming on the vertue of his old souldiers he assured himself of

victory. If the enemy were not encamped, then would he seeke to traine him vnto such places, where either by hemming him in on euery side (as hee did *Vercingentorix* in Alexia) or by assaulting him vpon aduantage of ground (as hee did the captains of *Pompey* in Spaine) he might inforce them vnto termes of yeelding; or if this succeeded not, by setting on them on the sodain, he would ouerthrow them, as he did *Ariouistus* and the *Vsipetis*.

In all his battailes his vse was, to follow his cõquest, neuer leauing to chase and pursue his enemies, hauing once defeated them, vntill he had spoiled them of their lodging, and made them wholy vnable to make head against him; wherein he did excellently helpe himselfe, by making vse of their feare and disorder. When *Pompey* knew not how to doe the like at Dirrachium, *Cæsar* did thus censure his ouersight; That *Pompey* knew wel how to ouercome, but

not how to vse his victory. Himselfe did not so at Pharsalia, where, in a most terrible field, hauing forced *Pompey* to flie, he was so farre from resting contented with defeature, that on the very selfe-same day he wanne their rampiers, and seised their tents, yea and with a deepe trench, he inuironed a hill, whereunto for their safety, some 4000 of *Pompeys* retinue, had betaken themselues for refuge: Hee depriued them of the benefit of a riuer, and inforced them to yeeld themselues simply to his mercy. All which hee did vpon very good reason. For if euer a man will benefit and aduantage himselfe by the disorder and fearfulnesse of his enemies, he shall neuer haue a fitter occasion, than vpon a discomfiture, whereby they haue lost both forces, wisedome, courage, and reputation.

Hee did also aduantage himselfe by the heat of victory, insomuch that many times hee finished a whole warre

with one onely ouerthrow: as, by that of Pharsalia, hee became Lord of all the East: with those of Lerida, and of Munda, first hee conquered, and afterwards recouered Spaine: with that of Thapsus, he made himselfe master of Affrike. In which point *Hannibal* committed great ouersight, who hauing won four or fiue pitcht fields, yet in the end sat downe with the losse, and was quite ouerthrowne.

But as in action, so in marching, *Cæsar* vsed expedition in all his voyages; for in eight daies he came frō Rome to Geneua, and in 26 daies from Rome to the land of Ouilcone, neere vnto Corduba.

Hee vsed the like expedition in getting and gaining of time: For, that hee might more fitly wage warre all the Summer, he would set forward and trauaile in the winter; in which season, he passed from Brundusium into Albania. In the winter he made a cut out of Italy

into Affrica: and afterward passed the Alpes, when the snowe lay sixe foot deepe.

The same he also vsed in all other his actions: for in fifteene dayes hee raised a wall of six foot in height, and about nineteene miles in length; to wit, from Geneua lake, to mount S. Claud: In ten dayes he built a bridge ouer the Rhene; and in so many he haled his whole nauie on shore, wherewith he passed into Brittaine, rigging it anew, and making it fit for the sea.

Of his Resolution and Constancie.

BVt it is not ynough for a Commaunder to vse speed and expedition in the execution of his enterprises, vnlesse he be also constant and resolute of courage, in chaunces & checkes of fortune, in perils and dangers: VVherein *Cæsar* without all doubt surpassed all other Captaines, whose memorable prowesse

by the helpof learning, hath come to the knowledge of posteritie. For vpon many occasions opposing himself alone against his flying & discomfited souldiers, sometime pulling them backe one by one, otherwhile forcing them to turn again, he would rally rankes halfe broken, and renue a battaile vpon point of wauering, resecuring whatsoeuer before was doubtfull. In that field which he fought with the *Nerui*, the battell being brought vnto that exigent, that his whole Cauallerie was vpon point of flight, and the seuenth and twelfth legions in great distresse, their captaines and commaunders being all almost slain; *Cæsar* casting his shield on his armie, & pressing throgh the midst of his squadrons to the front of the battaile, he made such proofe of his valour, that partly vpon his example, and partly for the daunger wherin they saw their General ingaged, the souldiers conceiuing better hopes, gathering strength and courage atresh, renued the

fight, and so valiantly behaued themselues, that fiftie thousand of their enemies lay slaine on the place. By which precedent, it may plainly be seene, how much Resolution & Expedition import a Generall. For, albeit that *Cæsar* was a captaine so wary, so circumspect, so prouident and considerat, as no man could be more; notwithstanding, being so suddainly and secretly set vpon by the pollicie of his enemies (who being couered with the thickenesse of those boughes which did ouerspred them, were sooner felt than seene) he had wanted but a little of his latest ruine and finall ouerthrow, had he not helpt himselfe by his innatiue valour and speedie order.

In his warre of Affrica, his souldiours being put to the worse, hee lugged one of his ensign-bearers by the throat, and turning him towards his enimies, There, there (said he) are those, against whome thou must fight. In the very same warre, the enemie hauing giuen his men so fu-

rious a charge, that they had already entred their rampiers, and fell pell mell with his souldiers: *Cæsar*, thrusting forward amongst them, by his presence and example rehartened the one, and restrained the other.

In Spaine, perceiuing his souldiours readie to flie, trauersing the troops, and posting from one vnto another, what with calling vpon them, and what with laying about him, hee so managed the matter, that his men for very shame, not to be said to forsake their General (if not to betray him) took heart and courage, & obtained the victory, with the death of thirtie thousand *Pompeyans*.

In that misfortune that befell him at Dyrrachium, hee did all a man possibly could do, to reclaime them from flying; but by reason of that extreame feare wherewith they were possessed, he could not worke any good vpon them: For when he himselfe laid hands on his ensignes to hold them vp, and so to induce them

them to stay their flight, his ensigne-bearers would eyther throw them on the ground, or let them alone in his hands, giuing him leaue to hold them himselfe. Nay more, hauing snatched one away by violence, he that bare it, full of terrour and amazement, raised vp his hand to strike him, as indeed hee had, had not one of his squires, which was neere vnto him, preuented it by a down right stroke which he gaue him on the shoulder.

In the warre of *Arioviſtus*, his whole armie beeing vpon report of the huge statures and inuincible courage of the Germanes, in such sort discouraged, that some of them did signifie vnto him, That when he should come to march against them, and to commaund his ensignes to be aduaunced vp, he should not bee obayed neyther by his souldiers or officers: he was so farre from yeelding to other mens cowardise, or willing to giue place vnto daunger, that calling a coun-

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cell of warre, wherein the Legates, Tribunes, and the Centurions of all the orders and degrees were assembled, hee made a braue Oration vnto thē: wherein, after he had greatly blamed their curious and inquisitiue humors, and taxed them of their cowardise, he wonderfully chaunged the minds of all sorts, breeding in euery one an alacritie to fight, and a desire to emulate one another. *Mirum in modum conuersa sunt omnium mentes summaque alacritas, & cupiditas belli gerendi, innata est.*

No lesse feare possessed his armie, when he warred in Ægypt: For the Alexandrians hauing filled with salt water all the cisternes and wels, whereof *Cæsar* and his souldiers should drinke; *Tantus incessit timor, vt ad extremum casum, omnes deducti viderentur*: So great a feare seized them, that not one of them but looked like men, already at deaths dore; some of them maruayling, that *Cæsar* ere this had not commaunded them to dislodge;

lodge; and some againe, fearing least in their departure they should bee hindered, and hardly entreated by the Alexandrians: for all this, was not *Cæsar* any whit moued; but by opening vnto the both the dishonour and the danger attending their flight, hee reuiued their dying spirits; and animating them to continue the warre, with hope of victorie, by giuing order for digging of wels in all his remouements, he found (contrary to all their expectations) great plentie and aboundance of fresh water.

Vpon what grounds and foundations he proceeded in his wars.

IN all his enterprises he had euermore these four foundations: The first, prouision of victuals; without which hee would neuer enter vpon any deseignement: The second, prouision of mioney for all such things as might be necessary or behoofefull for the action; whence

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it proceeded, that hee neuer gaue ouer vnaccompliſhed, any project, for want or default of prouiſion; in ſhort time effecting mightie matters, and making wonderfull fabrikes, as bridges, baſtions, trenches, whole fleets and nauies: The third, was an armie, either in all, or for the moſt part, conſiſting of old beaten ſouldiers; for vpon raw and freſh fellowes, he would neuer repoſe his hopes: The fourth, was the experience of his enemies forces; by which, meaſuring his own, if he knew he had the aduantage, he would bid thē battaile; if it ſtood vpon indifferencie or on equall tearmes, then truſting on his owne skill and conduct, he would not refuſe it; but if hee ſaw himſelfe inferiour, then eyther by ſtratagemes he would make himſelf ſuperiour, or by temporiſing, hee would ſtay vntill time ſhould either leſſen his enemies forces (as it happened in the warre againſt the Belgi,) or add vnto his owne (as in that of Alexandria.)

Of

Of three principall actions of Cæsar.

CÆsar did three actions, by which he shewed how complete and absolute a captaine he was. The one by the mattocke, and that woonderfull peece of worke, which he raised at the siege of Alexia. Another, by his judgement in marching and incamping; for hereby he wan that victory, which he bore from *Pompeyes* lieutenants. The third, by that vertue and valiant deed of armes, which he shewed at Pharsalia.

Wherein Cæsar was to be blamed.

GEnerally he was condemned of all, both in regard of the plot of his ambitious projects; as also, in the most part of those meanes, which hee vsed to attain thereunto. His project was, to vsurpe that supreme power, and soueraine greatnesse, which was altogether vnsufferable

ferable in a free citie, as Rome was then: And it is a strange thing, that *Lu. Silla* should pierce into this his intention, when he was as yet but a youth, & thereof then so report (as indeed it afterward happened) vnto those, who were his fauourits about him.

The bad meanes, whereby he attained vnto his his end, consisted in hauing a part in all the distressed, banquerout, and base routs of seditious persons, & in all conspiracies that were wrought against the State, in his time: in his protecting of murderers, and men of euill action: in his alluring (by roiotous expences) of the common people (and only for this purpose:) in his publishing of the lawes agrarie: in his alienating of the goods of the Commonwealth: in his annihilating of the authority of the Senat: and in oppressing of the Optimates, and the better sort of cittizens: finally, in not making any difference twixt right and wrong, so as it might

serue for his purpose, and turne to the effecting of his intentions; which made him so often to haue that saying of *Euripides* in his mouth:

Nam si violandum est ius,
Regnandi causa violandum est.

If right and law may broken bee,
It may then most for Empiree.

And lastly (to make sure worke, and to auoid the punishment of law, inflicted vpon traitors & offenders; for to them which desire an empire, there is no middle course, betweene the estate of a prince, and the death of a traitor) in making open warre vpon the Commonwealth, and by force seizing on the state and the freedome of his country: yea, after all this (in colouring his tyrannie and the vnlawfulnesse of his actions) with clemencie towards the conquered, and with liberalitie towards his follow-

ers: parts and properties (well vsed) most rare, and of all most worthy to bee imitated.

But that which did afterwards ruinat him, when hee was in the height of his greatnesse, was, his intollerable ambition, in suffering himselfe (beeing, as the prouerbe is, Scarce warme in his seat) to be honored aboue reason, by flatterers and sycophants. And truly it is a point worthy admiration, that a personage of such great wisedome, and such singuler valour, not contenting himself with the substance of things, should foolishly seeke after their shadowes, & such idle apparences, as are the Title and Croune of a king. How much more wisely did *Augustus* his nephew deale, who for the shunning of hatred, and auoiding of enuy, caused the soueraigne authoritie to be tearmed *Tribunalis potestas*, Tribunitial authority. *Id summi fastigij vocabulum Augustus reperit, ne Regis, aut Dictatoris nomen adsumeret, ac tamen appellatione*

tions aliqua, cætera imperia præmineret: Augustus, that he might not take vpon him that odious and most hatefull name of King or of Dictator, inuented a word of lesse significancie, but not of lesse soueraingty; altering the words, but not the authority. And *Tiberius Cæsar, Vim principatus sibi firmans, imaginem antiquitatis Senatui præbebat*: That hee might set sure footing in the Empire, hee did exhibite & present vnto the Senat, a certaine semblance of their old and ancient gouernment.

But no lesse is it to bee wondered at, That so great a mã should suffer himself so to bee hooded and blinded by flatterers, as thereby to make himselfe hated of all men, euen to the hastie procurement of his owne death, which was in this manner: On a time, the whole Senat comming to visit and to honor him with large and ample decrees, being about to raise himselfe vp on his feet, and to receiue them, he withdrew himselfe

 againe

againe vpon *Cornelius Baldus* his words, who said vnto him, *What doest thou doe? Knowest thou not that thou art* Cæsar? By which, this his proud behauior he greeuously offended those graue and reuerend fathers, and puld vpon his head the extreame hatred of all good and honest citizens. Thus *Cæsar*, who had escaped so many dangers, ouercome so many troubles, and conquered in so many hard incounters, ouerthrew himselfe in his prosperities, by inthralling himselfe to the fawning and seruile flatteries of base Sycophants. And so according to *Tacitus, Secundæ res acrioribus stimulis animum explorant, quia miseriæ tolerantur, fœlicitate corrumpimur.*

FINIS.

I. B. B. His Scipio Affricanus.

TO

THE MOST NOBLE Prince, Prince *Emanuel Filiberto, of Savoy,*

GREAT PRIOR OF CASTILE, &c.

Cipio, who first of all the Romanes, from the prouince by him subdued, bore away that most glorious sur-

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name of *Affricanus*, was euen in the iudgement of my Lord Duke, father to your Highnes, the moſt accompliſhed & moſt honourable knight, which for the arts of Peace and War, had liued in all former & precedent ages. For he was by nature, of preſence no leſſe graue than honourable; of vvit excellent, yea, beyond common reach; of ſingular eloquence, beyond beleefe; & enriched vvith all other moſt rare and noble qualities. Beſides, how much he could do in his martiall managements, Spaine and Affrica, *Haſdrubal* and *Syphax*, can ſufficiently teſtifie.

ſtifie. Now then preſent I vnto your Highneſſe a picture or modell: wherein is not only expreſſed the excellencie of ſo excellent a perſon, but alſo the meanes vvhereby hee ſoared to ſo high a perfection: To your Highneſſe, I ſay, who both in nobilitie, in the graciouſneſſe and pleaſingneſſe of your coũtenaunce, in the gentleneſſe of your carriages, (yet ſtill retaining your accuſtomed Maieſtie) as alſo in all your intendements, doe moſt liuely reſemble him. I beſeech your excellencie to receiue this ſmall and ſlender token of my ſincere and

deuoted ſeruice, in that degree of acceptance, which from your ſingular kindneſſe and humanity, I promiſe and aſſure to my ſelfe: And ſo humbly I kiſſe your hands. From my houſe the fifth of October, 1600.

Your Highneſſe moſt deuoted ſeruant.

I. B.

Obseruations vpon the life of SCIPIO AFRICANVS.

IN our former discourses wee haue obserued, how *Alexander* by valour obtayned the soueraignetie of Asia and Affriek; and *Cæsar* by factions and force seized the continuall Dictatorship: It now remaineth to bee examined, how *Scipio* without breach of law, or offence of conscience, attained the highest pitch of Reputation and Honor, that the Romane state could possibly afford him. Which Reputation is a generall conceit, grounded vpon ap-

parant testimonies of VVisdome or Valour, ingraffed in a Gentleman; and ought to bee purchased, not with base and meane employments, but by actions carrying likelyhood of honour and estimation. 1. And these are either glorious of themselues, as the conquests of great States (such as were the Veij and Carthage:) 2. Or, in respect of the slender and weake proportions, wherewith a Commaunder bringeth hard and dangerous enterprises to good and happie ends: of which nature were those of *Thrasibulus* (who with foure hundred men) of *Dion* (who with fiue hundred) and of *Pelopidas* (who with twelue of his confederates) freed their countries from the oppression of tyrannie: 3. Or, in regard of thy great disaduauntages, and yet by valour and good conduct thou defeatest potent and puissant aduersaries; as *Miltiades* did the Persians; *Lucullus*, king *Tigranes*: 4. Or, by respect of shortnesse of Time, wherein without

losse

losse of opportunities, thou worke st and effectest great matters; as did *Alexander*, who in thirteene yeares conquered Asia: *Cymon* in one day the Persians, both by sea and land: 5. Or because thou winnest the cheefest Honour in any peece of seruice, as did *C. Duillius* at sea: 6. Or lastly, because thou art the man, by whose vertue a cruell and dangerous warre is prosperously ended; as *Luctatius* did the first Punicke, *Paulus Æmilius* the Macedonian, and *Scipio Æmilianus* the Numantine.

Successes likewise are of no small efficacie in these actions: as when by one victorie, followeth the conquest of an entire kingdome, the surprising of a great State, the libertie of a country, or the safetie and welfare of the people: for conclusion affirming, That this conceit and opinion is not grounded in mens hearts and tongues, by the multitude, but by the greatnesse and worthinesse of our projects and enterprises. In

true

true desert whereof, our *Scipio* may worthely bee preferred before all the captaines that euer went before him. For the noblenesse and greatnesse of his mind was such, that he neuer spent time I will not say in base, but not so much as in triuiall and ordinarie enterprises. In all his actions there shined, I know not what of an excellent, rare, and aboue common expectation. For beeing but a yong man of seuenteene yeares of age, he saued the life of his father: being little elder, he stayed *Metellus* and his faint-hearted companions in Italie. Hee sued for the Ædileship before his turn came, and obtained it: he required the Consulship, and enjoyed it. When hee was but foure and twentie yeares old, his father and his vncle beeing discomfited and slaine in Spaine, and not any man for terrour of so vnfortunate a disaster, being found willing to hazard his fortunes in so vniuersall a calamitie, offred himselfe voluntarie to the seruice; whether

ther he went, and in one day took new Carthage; in few yeares ouerthrew four flouriſhing and victorious armies, ouercame as many Carthaginian captaines, and ſubjected all Spaine to the deuotion of the Romanes. This only captaine amongſt all the commaunders of the State, thought it but folly to wage warre (as others before him had done) with *Hannibal* in Italie, or to follow him by the plaines of Puglia, or the mountains of Calabria: but reſolued to paſſe into Affrick, and there conſtrained the Carthaginians to recall *Hannibal* out of Italy: and ſo, by one battaile ended the controuerſie, which citie ſhould be Ladie and Soueraigne of the whole world.

Neither may we here omit, how *Scipio* was the firſt Roman that had the honour to beſtow a moſt ample kingdome vpon his friend; and refuſed the title of King, offered him by the Spaniards; and that was called by the ſurname of the prouince which he had conquered.

By

By what meanes Scipio attained to such Greatnesse.

BY what meanes did he worke so many and so mightie matters? *Polibius* is of opinion, That his cheefest vertue, whereby hee got the eminencie of excellencie, and whereby he mastered the actions he vndertook, (how difficult soeuer) was his Industrie & Experience. In which opinion concurreth also *Titus Liuius*, ascribing vnto him a particular dexteritie of wisdome, appropriated aboue common measure vnto himselfe onely; for it could not bee otherwise, vnlesse by some extraordinarie fauour from aboue, that hee ouerweighed the greatest dangers and difficulties befalling him both at home and abroad. And therefore we wil first deuise of his Experience in forraine employments.

Of

Of his Experience in warre.

HIs father and vncle being slain, and their armies discomfited in Spaine, so vniuersall a terrour and heauinesse pierced the hearts of the Romane people, that in steed of these deceased knights, no man could be found willing to vndertake the gouernment of that prouince, and the commaund of the Armie. VVherefore the people beeing assembled for the election of a newe vice-Consull, the Senators and Gentlemen musing and discontented, and looking one vpon another, as though no one of them had a liking to this iorney; *Scipio* (as then not aboue four and twentie yeares of age) although the deaths of his father and vncle had taken deeper impression in his heart, than in the minds of any other, chearfully stood vp, and to that charge (which others shunned as an assured destruction) willingly

and

and with good hopes he offered his ſeruice. VVhereupon the whole multitude fixing their eyes vpon him, with a joyfull and vniuerſall applauſe created him vice-Conſull for the gouernement of Spaine. Howbeit, they had no ſooner pronounced their election, but with grauer inſight calling to mind the condition of thoſe countries, the qualitie of thoſe captaines againſt whom they had ſent him, yea, and the ouerthrows of his father and vncle (being yet freſh in memorie) like men that had too too raſhly giuen their voices to his offer and their election, they preſently accuſed themſelues of great vnaduiſedneſſe, manifeſting many ſignes of ſorrow and diſcontentment: which hee preſently conceiting, and ſeeing the lines of repentance written in their lookes; with ſuch chearfulneſſe of courage, and arguments of iudgement, diſcourſed of his age, and of the warre in queſtion, that kindling in the minds of the multitude the fire of

their

their former heat, he refilled them with their former hopes, & almoſt aſſurance of moſt happie ſucceſſe, accompanied with rich ſpoiles and vnbloodie victory. And ſo by this moſt honourable reſolution, hee firſt gained an eminent name and powerfull authoritie in his owne countrey.

Being arriued in Spaine, and not hauing forces ſufficient to encounter his enemies, who at that time had three puiſſant armies diſperſed in ſeuerall quarters of the prouince; and holding it no wiſedome in martiall exploits, by aſſaulting one, to giue occaſion to the reſt to vnite themſelues together; found meanes without ingaging the battaile, how to diminiſh thē, yet neuertheleſſe to the augmentation of his own forces, and his high reputation. And that was by vndertaking the action of Carthage: an action not onely of importance, for the qualitie of the place, the plentie of munition, and the quantitie of riches

there

there amaſſed: but alſo for that in it, ſojourned all the hoſtages of the citties ſubject vnto the Carthaginian gouernment. VVho recouering their libertie by the bountie of the Romanes, were afterwards occaſions of the reuolt of many places. For by the ſacking of that one cittie, and by this pollicie, hee conquered a great part of Spaine: and cauſing the ingaged Gentlemen to bee brought before him, he entertained and entreated them according to their diſcents with all gentleneſſe and courteſie. And taking a note of their names and countries, he diſpatched meſſengers to the nominated places, to giue intelligence of his intention, *viz.* That euery citie ſhould ſend their agents to receiue & fetch home their owne people: which was done accordingly.

Amongſt other hoſtages, a yong gentlewoman of excellent beautie beeing preſented vnto him, and vnderſtanding that ſhe was eſpouſed to *Lucius*, a noble gentle-

gentleman, and descended from one of the cheefe houses of the Celtiberians, hee gaue commaundement, that shee should bee entreated with carefull and honourable respect: and within fewe daies after, causing her father and husband to be sent for, turning himselfe towards her husband, he vsed these or the like words vnto him: My souldiors hauing brought before me this young Lady, which is said to be thy wife, I no sooner vnderstood that thou didst entirely loue her (whereto her marueilous beautie did easily perswade me,) but with all respectfulnesse I regarded her, and caused her in such sort to bee attended, as had she been in her fathers owne house, she could not more kindly or more honourably haue been entreated, because that the gift which I mind to bestow vpon thee, should bee both worthie thy selfe and me also; neither doe I require other thankes at thy hands, than that for euer hereafter thou remaine faithful

to the Romanes. *Lucius* moued with this vnexpected kindnesse, and rauisht with joy for his new regained loue, neuer ceased to kisse the hands of the Generall, and to pray the gods, that it might one day please them, to graunt him opportunitie to make requitall for so great a benefit. That masse of gold which the father had brought thether for the ransome of the maiden, hee poured at the feet of *Scipio*, intreating him with instancie to accept it, as a present, and not as a recompence, for the good he had done them. *Scipio* not knowing how to deme the importunat inforcement of the old man, took it, and turning to *Lucius*, vsed these speeches: Besides the marriage goods which thou art to haue with thy wife, my desire is, that thou also receiue this money at my hands, as ouer and aboue thy dowrie.

As without doubt *Scipio* was one of the most accomplisht gentlemen that euer liued, neuer doing any thing,

wherein there appeared not singular foresight and wisedome: so in this action already declared, hee did farre surpasse and exceed himselfe. He refused not to see the Damosell (as *Alexander* did) but suffered her to be brought before him, yet in the open view of his armie, that they might all be witnesses of the continencie and respect hee carried towards her. He commanded the father and husband to come both together before him, because they should both of them acknowledge the fauor and grace which he had done them, & how deeply they stood in loue indebted vnto him: Againe, he accompanies this his courtesie, with words no lesse graue than gracious, especially fitting and agreeable to the occasion: To these he addeth an act bountifull and magnificent, by giuing to the bridegroome, as it were out of his owne purse, a dowrie aboue his due, so large and liberall. But the thing that most graceth this act, was, that he

did it not vpon vaine hopes, and at peraduentures, but for the assured benefit and seruice of his countrey, which afterwards fell out according to his judicious expectation. For, *Lucius* after his returne to his house, neuer ceased to the vtmost of his abilitie, to extoll & make famous the greatnesse and nobleness of *Scipioes* courage; voicing it in all places, that a young gentleman was arriued in Spain, in goodnesse like vnto the gods, who with valour and courtesie (more thā ordinarie) subdued all things to the Romane Empire. And within few dayes after assembling a power of one thousand and foure hundred horse, serued in person in these warres.

VVith the like vsage hee wrought *Massiniſſa* to side with the Romanes: for receiuing notice, that amongst the captiues there was taken a young gentleman, nephew to *Massiniſſa*, calling him before him, and kindly embracing him, he gaue him a ring of great price, a rich girdle,

girdle, a coſtly garment, and a horſe well furniſhed, & ſo diſmiſſed him well pleaſed to his vncle: who being ouercome with that vnexpected courteſie, ſoon after turned from the Carthaginians to the ſeruice and deuotion of the Romans: ſo well knew hee how to make his moſt aduauntage of his victory. By the friendſhip & counſell of this prince, he addreſſed himſelfe (alwaies intentiue to great affaires) to the enterpriſe of Affricke: and with the ſame reſolution hee paſſed the ſea with two gallies onely, to conferre with *Syphax* the potent king of Numidia, whom by his kind carriage and wiſe ouertures he drew to take part with the Romanes, notwithſtanding the earneſt perſuaſions of *Haſdrubal* the Carthaginian, to the contrarie.

Of no leſſe moment was that action of Experience, whereby he vanquiſhed *Haſdrubal*. The armies of the Romanes and Carthaginians affronting one ano-

ther, had drawne themſelues more than once into the open field, either expecting the other ſhould begin the onſet: which practiſe though it were ſome few dayes continued, yet in all this ſeaſon paſſed not there not a dart from the one ſide to the other. At firſt, the battailions were ſo ordered, That the Romans and Carthaginians ſtood in the middeſt, and the Spaniards, their partakers, in the wings; the one and the other being certainely perſuaded, That with the ſame order, which till then they had obſerued, they ſhould at laſt fight it out: But *Scipio* now reſolued to bring the quarrell to triall, cauſing his people to dine ſooner than accuſtomed, quite altered the former order of his battailes, and placed the Romane legions in the wings, and the auxiliaries in the battaile. And to the intent the enemie might not perceiue this ſtratageme; or perceiuing it, might not be able to preuent it, no nor haue leiſure left them to eat their meat;

he

he sent his horse to assaile the Carthaginians in their quarter, putting all in confusion and vproare. Vpon which alarum, *Hasdruball* likewise, without further respect, drew out his horse, and after them his foot: which falling out according to *Scipios* imagination, he caused his horse to retire with their best safetie, and stretching his wings out in length, commanded the Spaniards (who were placed in the middest) to march softly, and without doing any thing to come forward with a slow and gentle pace: by which deuise, the two wings of the Roman soldiers sustained the furie of the seruice, and the Carthaginians, in whose valour consisted the fortune of the day, remained yet vnmoued: Against whome (the wings being alreadie defeated) he turned his whole forces, and easily brought his purpose to passe. By which stratage, he diuers waies deceiued his enemies: for first, they were inforced to fight fasting, with those who had alreadie re-

freshed their bodies: then hauing of purpose prolonged the battaile, hee brought the Carthaginians to such tearmes of disaduauntage, that infinite distresses grew vpon them; not so much in regard of their fasting, as by reason of thirst, heat, & long standing. Secondly, he held the maine battaile in doubt and suspence, till he had ouerthrowne their wings with the Romane legions, and then turning his whole forces vpon the Carthaginians, deprined of the succour of their wings, hee quickly disordered them, and put the whole battaile to flight.

In truth, those stratagemes which are not simple, but cōsist of many parts, are most safe, and likely to proouc most aduauntagious; because if in one point they prosper not, they may in another fall out luckily: but if it chance that all take effect, there may no question bee made of assured victorie. Of which sort, was the pollicie of *Hannibal*, at the bat-

taile

taile of Cannas, where he fought against the Romanes, not with weapons onely, but also with wind, sunne, dust, and trecherie: for he marshalled his troopes in a place where the sunne and the wind being on their backes, the one dazeled the sights of the Romans, the other did beat and driue the dust full in their faces: and to make more sure worke, hee shuffled in amongst them more thā fiue hundred Numidians, who faining to flie from him to the Romans, made a mightie slaughter in the middest and head of the battaile.

Herein also appeared another point of *Scipioes* wisedome; in that (perswading himselfe, that Reputation was not gayned by the multitude, but by the greatnesse of actions) hee aduentured not himselfe to all attempts, but reserued his owne person for the greatest, & such as in shew of danger and difficultie carried an appearance of impossibilitie: the residue he cōmitted to his lieutenants; where-

whereby hee maintained his dignitie, and to them gaue exceeding satisfaction.

It happened vnto *Scipio*, as vsually it falleth out with those whome Fortune hath aduanced to the highest dignities and honours in the State: which was, the opposition of the Senate; who to make their partie the stronger, procured on their sides the voices of the people. *Scipio* had against him part of the Senat, and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, President thereof. By reason whereof, after his returne from Spaine, not Affricke (as hee hoped and desired) but Sicile was allotted vnto him for his prouince, with a nauie consisting onely of thirtie great ships, wherewith if it so seemed good vnto him, hee had licence to passe into Affricke; neither was hee admitted to make any new leuies in Italie, but they gaue him leaue to carry with him all those which would voluntarily follow him. Notwithstanding, by his industrie

he

he amaſſed together a great armie, and to his firſt thirtie veſſels he adjoyned other thirtie; whereof twentie were of fiue oares at a banke, and ten at foure: and in fiue and fortie daies (a wonder to report) after the timber was felled, the gallies were readie to ſet ſaile. *Plinie* ſayth, *Mirum apud antiquos primo punico bello, claſſem Duillij Imperatoris ab arbore exciſa ſexageſima die nauigaſſe, ſecundo quoque punico bello, Scipionis claſsis quadrageſimo die, a ſecuri, nauigabit. contra Hieronem regem, ducentas viginti naues effectas, diebus quadraginta quinque, tradit Piſo. Tantum tempeſtiuitas, in rapida etiam celeritate poteſt:* That our forefathers thought it ſtrange, that in the firſt Punicke warre, the ſixtieth day after the trees were cut downe, the nauie of the Emperour *Duillius* put to ſea. And in the ſecond Punicke war, the nauie of *Scipio* ſet ſaile the fortieth day after the felling. And *Piſo* telleth vs, That in fiue and forty daies, two hundred and twentie ſhips were rigged againſt king

Hiero:

Hiero: so much can diligence effect vpon ſuddaine occaſions.

Much memorable likewiſe was that pollicie of his, wherewith hee raiſed a companie of three hundred gentlemen in Sicily. For to the three hundred of the principall young gentlemen of the Iſland, whom hee had commaunded to prouide themſelues of horſe and armor to accompanie him in his journey of Affricke: I know (quoth he) that ſome of you will thinke much to follow me in this action, and will take it as a matter of much trouble and greeuance; wherfore that I may not, when I ſhall come into our enemies countrey, haue cauſe to repent me thereof, open your minds vnto mee, and let him that is vnwilling to ſerue, tell me, & I will giue him leaue to depart to his owne home. VVhereupon, one of them making him anſwer, that (might it ſtand with his good fauour) he could be much better contented to ſtay than to goe. *Scipio* replied, that

that he was well pleaſed therewith, but vpon condition, that he ſhould deliuer his horſe and armour to him whom hee ſhould appoint to goe in his roome. VVhich the reſidue hearing, began to alledge ſundry excuſes, and to offer him both their armes and their horſes. Thus *Scipio*, who to this intent had purpoſely propoſed this vnto them, armed three hundred young men, which he brought with him out of Italie, and before that time had not deſtined to any certaine ſeruice: and it is hyſtoried, That this troope proued afterwards moſt excellent ſeruitors in all that enterpriſe.

But *Polibius*, before all other pollicies of *Scipio*, preferreth that, wherewith hee ſurpriſed *Haſdruball* and *Syphax* in a Camiſado. For vnder colour of Embaſſage, hauing attempted to mooue *Syphax* to forſake the Carthaginians, and to returne to the friendſhip of the Romans, whileſt his Embaſſadours paſſed from one campe to the other, hee learned by them,

them, that the cabbins of the enemies for the greateſt part, conſiſted of flags, reeds, and ſuch like combuſtible matter, and thoſe likewiſe built without forme or order: whereunto the Generall opening his eares, and conceiting to doe ſome ſeruice vpon ſuch vnexperienced forces, albeit he had no hope to come to an agreement with *Syphax*, whō he ſaw obſtinatly to imbrace the league of the Carthaginians; yet notwithſtanding he continued his ouertures by his Orators; appointing many of his moſt judicious and skilfulleſt ſouldiers to accompany them, in the habit of ſeruants, giuing them inſtructions to diſcouer the qualitie of the enemies lodgings, their order and manner of diſcipline, and the diſtance betweene the campes of *Haſdrubal* and *Syphax*. This practiſe hauing indured for ſome certaine dayes, when *Scipio* ſaw time fit to execut his purpoſe, hee gaue *Syphax* to vnderſtand, That ſithence neither with the Carthagini-

ans,

ans, nor with him, hee could fall to no composition, he would not bee at truce any longer with them. This done, and open warre proclaymed, hee made the Tribunes priuie of his projects, & commaunded, that the night following the whole armie should be in readinesse: so about twilight, aduãcing his battailes, at midnight he arriued at the campe of his enemies. To *Lelius* and *Massanissa* hee gaue charge to set fire in many places of the kings campe, and he himself for the same purpose tooke his way towards the campe of *Hasdrubal*. The quarter (whereunto *Lelius* was commaunded) being speedily set on fire, the Numidians with terrour and amazement conceiting it had happened by casualtie, ran vp and downe vnarmed, to quench it: But meeting with their enemies, some perished by the sword, some by fire, and some most miserably by the one and the other. They in *Hasdrubals* campe taking the alarum, and awaked with the

ſuddaine rumour of the accident, thinking alſo the fire to be kindled by negligence, ran likewiſe diſarmed to the aid of their companions: But the Romanes expecting their paſſage at a foord, and putting to ſword all thoſe whome they lighted on; at the ſame ports whereat the one iſſued, the other entered, committing all to fire and ſword that came in their way.

Polibius (as we told you before) preferreth this act before all the reſt that euer he enterpriſed: His reaſon is, for that it is more ſafe to ouercome by ſtratagemes and pollicie, than by hazard and furie. Of which opinion were alſo the Spartanes: and for my part, I think there is not any man, who comparing a victorie obtained by blood and hazard, with one in an inſtant atchiued by politicke conduct, will make any doubt or queſtion hereof.

Now *Scipio* hauing the ſecond time diſcomfited *Haſdruball* and *Syphax*, who had

had once againe put their fortunes vpon the triall of a battaile, the Carthaginians no longer minding to make further proofe of the ſouldierie of Affrick, call *Hannibal* out of Italy. This great Commaunder vpon his arriuall, knowing that he had to deale with one of the moſt noble and beſt experienced captaines of the whole world, thought it his ſafeſt courſe to make certaine ouertures of peace; which beeing rejected, he reſolueth vpon the battaile. In which fight, after a long and bloudie conflict (wherein he ſhewed no leſſe wiſedome and valour than at other times and in other battailes he had done) he was laſtly vanquiſhed. VVhich battaile was the moſt noble that euer was fought: for all other warrelike ſeruices were effected with ſome inequalitie, either of place, weapons, armes, or captaines: as *Xantippus* the Lacedemonian ouerthrew *M. Attilius Regulus* by the aduauntage of place, and number of horſe: the Greci-

and ouercame the Barbarians by discipline of their orders and weapons: *Cæsar* defeated the lieutenants of *Pompey* in Spaine, by his owne conduct: and afterward, *Pompey* himselfe, by the valor of his old souldiers: but in the field fought at Zama, the fight passed betweene two captaines equall in reputation of glory and conduct, both furnished with old and tried souldiers, and in a place, to either so indifferent, that *Hanniball* himselfe (who was neuer woont but to fight vpon aduauntage) knew not now how to helpe himselfe either by wit or situation. So that my opinion is, and I verely beleeue it, That neuer was there any battaile performed by captaines, more famous or more sufficient, or with conditions more equall on either side, than was this of *Hanniball* and *Scipio*.

Of

Of some noble sayings of Scipio.

IT will not be impertinent here to intermixe three or foure of his sayings, wherby we may judge how and in what sort he carried himselfe in his warre-like enterprises.

He was wont to say, That in militarie affaires it was extreame folly, and much blamable, to say, *I did not thinke it*. For in other occurrences an error may happely be amended; but ouersight in warfare, without punishment and repentance instantly accompanying them, cannot possibly be redressed. And therfore it standeth with the reputation of a generall to premeditate throughly vpon his designments, and to haue an open and watchfull eye euen vpon matters of smallest moment. Being in some sort taxed for not aduenturing his owne person, he made answere, *That he was not borne a Souldier, but a Commander.* Inferring

thereby, That forwardneſſe is eſpecially to be expected in a priuat ſouldier, good conduct & temporizing to be the moſt requiſit parts in a Generall.

He would alſo ſay, That a captaine ought not to hazard his owne perſon, vnleſſe moued by opportunitie, or inforced by neceſſitie.

And, that the paſſage whereby an enemie is to take his flight, ought not to be ſtopped: For as their flight wil adminiſter occaſions of ſlaughter and aduantage, ſo is it moſt daungerous to fight with people ſtanding vpon tearmes of deſpaire and neceſsitie.

Of his Experience in ciuile gouernement.

AS in militarie matters hee gaue the world many manifeſt proofes of a quicke and readie wit, by his continuall induſtrie and wonderfull conceits of inuentions and conduct: no leſſe a dexte-

ritie appeared in his management of ciuile gouernement. Of which it ſhall ſuffice, that I here recite ſome two or three examples: for he became popular and gracious, not onely in regard of his own true vertues; but by art and ſubtiltie likewiſe (which hee practiſed from his childhood) he wrought into the peoples hearts a reuerent conceit of more than mortalitie: in his elder years neuer enterpriſing any thing, publick or priuat, before he had made his recourſe to the Capitoll, and there had continued a certaine ſeaſon in the chappell of *Iupiter*: Inſinuating peraduenture vnto the people, that hee attempted nothing without diuiner counſaile, and the gods aſsiſtance. And it is reported, That as often as he went thether (which hee did early in the mornings) the dogs (which kept the temple) would neuer open againſt him. For which cauſe, the ſuperſtitious vulgar rout, beleeuing that hee was diſcended from ſome of the gods,

would commonly babble, that when he was conceiued, a great serpent had ben many times seene in the chamber and bed of his mother: VVhich conceit was the rather confirmed by the majesticall disposition of his bodie, and the gracious sweetnesse of his countenaunce; wherwith he woon all sorts of people to cast their eyes and minds vpon him.

Demaunding the Ædileship before hee came to age prescribed by the law, the Tribunes of the people opposed against him: to whom he replied; *If the Romanes thinke me capable of such an office, I haue yeares sufficient.* VVhich words running through the cittie with applause and good liking, he attained that dignitie with euery mans loue and fauour.

VVhen the Locrians had made a greeuous complaint of the barbarous crueltie vsed towards them by *Q. Flaminius*, *Scipio* his Lieutenant as tollerated by him, without inflicting either of redresse or punishment; and *Q. Fabius Maxi-*

Maximus; taking it very heinously, and to aggrauate the matter, had added; That he vſed to walke in pantophles, to weare a mantle vpon his backe after the Grecian faſhion, and to conſume the whole day in the ſchooles of Sarogoſa: The Senat, for further triall of the cauſe, thought it good to ſend ten Commiſsioners into Sicile, to the end, that they together with the Prætor of the Iſland, might informe them, if thoſe miſdemeanors, wherwith the Locrians found themſelues ſo much agreeued, were done by the conniuence and conſent of *Scipio*; and if they found it to bee ſo, that then they ſhould commaund him in the name of the Senat, to returne with them to Rome: but if he were alreadie paſſed into Affricke, that then two of them ſhould likewiſe paſſe thether, to take charge of the armie, till ſuch time as they ſhould ſend ſome other Generall in the roome of *Scipio*. But if they found, that theſe diſorders

were not committed through *Scipios* fault, that then they ſhould leaue him in his prouince, to goe forward in his determinate enterpriſe. The commiſſioners being arriued in Sicile, *Scipio* thinking it vnworthie his greatneſſe, to defend the accuſation by words, as a perſon guiltie; rather choſe to juſtifie his actions, as an excellent Captaine, by ſhewing them ſo great proportions of prouiſions for the warres, *viz.* an armie ſo well trained and appointed, ſo gallantly furniſhed with weapons, and ſo full of life and martiall courage; with a Nauie ſo repleniſhed with men, owers, artilerie, and ſo good of ſterage, that the Commiſsioners beeing ouercome with admiration, proteſted, That if that Captaine and that Armie did not vanquiſh Carthage, it would neuer be ſubdued. VVith which opinion and cenſure, taking their journey homewards, at their returne to Rome they filled the whole citie with the praiſes and

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ecchoes of *Scipioes* worthie gouernment. So well knew this Politician, euen without debasing his honor, or doing ought vnfitting his estate, to make vaine the imputations of his enemies and emulators.

L. Cornelius Scipio, and *C. Lelius*, being created Consuls (the one a brother, the other a speciall friend of the *Affrican*) both of them stood to haue Greece for their prouince. *Lelius* in better grace with the Senators, desired, That the diuision of the prouinces might rather be referred to the discretion and arbitrement of the Senat, than to lots, according to the auncient customes: wherewith, his Collegue (acquainting his brother with the motion) rested well contented. The day following (the Senat beeing assembled) *Publius Affricanus* stood vp, and made an offer, That if it pleased their Honours to send his brother into Greece, he himselfe would accompanie him, and serue him in those warres,

warres as his lieutenant. His offer was generally accepted, and that prouince alsigned to *Lucius Scipio*.

The two *Q. Q. Petilij*, Tribunes of the people, caused *Scipio* to be cited; laying to his charge, That he had secretly receiued a great summe of money of king *Antiochus*, that therefore he should procure him peace vpon more easie and fauourable conditions than became the State and Majestie of the Romane Empire. The day of appearance beeing come, hee came into the market place, accompanied with an honorable train: VVhere, he was no sooner mounted into the place for Orations, but without once making mention of the matter in question, hee discoursed with a loud voice, Of the many and great seruices which he had done for his vnkind countrey: whereto all the people attentiuely and with vsuall applause gaue good heed. This day beeing thus spent, the next following, the Tribunes came very

earely into the place of assembly; where *Scipio* also appeared, no lesse honourably and faithfully accompanied, than before; when againe by this notable following inuention, he freed himself from the enuie and molestation of the Tribunes: On such a day (quoth he) as this, fighting in Affrica, I defeated *Hannibal* and the Carthaginians, with a most cruell and terrible discomfiture; wherfore I hold it not a thing acceptable to the gods, to spend our time in mutuall strifes and contentions, but rather let vs goe to the Capitall, to giue thankes to the heauens for so happie an aduenture: & as many of you as haue no other businesse, come and goe along with mee, I beseech you, and joine with me in prayer and supplication to these our gods, that to this our Common-wealth may neuer be wanting a continuall succession of such gentlemen as my selfe. Hauing so said, he presently tooke his way towards the Capitoll, whether all the people

people followed, together with his owne traine: & so the Tribunes to their shame and disgrace beeing left post alone in the market place, hee spent that whole day in visiting the Temples of the Citie. Thus prooued this day no lesse honorable vnto him, than that wherein he triumphed ouer *Syphax* and *Hannibal*.

Yet, his mind being too great, to stoope to his aduersaries, and his heart vntaught to debase and subiect it selfe to the enuie and infamous informations of the Tribunes; before his peremptorie day of triall was come, hee departed Rome, and retired himselfe into a village of his owne, called Linternum; at this day reported to bee the place wherein he was borne, and now, about the fiftie and fourth yeare of his age, destinated to be the place of his departure out of this life.

It is written, that whilest he liued in this priuat manner, certaine pyrats, moued

ued with the generous and honourable report of so worthie a person, descended on land onely to see him, to doe him reuerence, and to kisse his hand. Besides, he was stately and comely of personage, and of an excellent presence, beeing much beautified by his long hair; which (as *Licurgus* would make vs beleeue) addeth terriblenesse to the ill fauored, and comelinesse to the faire.

Hee vsed often to retire himselfe to his countrey mansion; which he did (as *Plutarch* doth censure it) either to recreate his spirits, or to weare out the mallice of such as greeued and repined at his glorie and honour (a course well fitting a great and polliticke personage:) But it may be he did it to auoid cõtempt, and diminution of his reputation, by continuall presence; for being a martiall man, and one brought vp in seruice, it was hard for him in times of peace to maintaine that glorie any long time, which hee had purchased by his valiant

actions. So that by his absence he presumed, that his returne, refreshed in the multitude an earnest desire to see him; and by his sojourning in the countrey hee made his abode in the cittie to bee more acceptable: for *Continuus aspectus, minus verendos magnos homines ipsa satietas facit*: Great men grow lesse respected by continuall presence. And so I conclude, that this also (amongst the rest) was one of the drifts, wherewith this our *African* thought it good to maintaine his reputation.

Moreouer, *Titus Liuius* giueth this note of him, That he spake *Ita elato, ab ingenti virtutum suarum fiducia, animo, vt nullum ferox verbum excideret, ingensque omnibus quæ ageret, quæque diceret, cum maiestas inesset, tum fides*: with so bold a spirit, and so confident in his owne vertues, that no vnseemely word did euer escape him, and in all things which hee either did or spake, there appeared majestie and truth. The like doth *Probus* write

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of *Timolion*, *Quod nihil vnquam insolens & gloriosum ex ore eius exijt*: Insolencie and ostentation hee neuer vsed in speeches: For the same good parts *Saluſt* prayseth *Iugurth*, king of Numidia, affirming him, *Plurimum facere, & minimum de se loqui*: That he effected great actions, but spake thereof himselfe sparingly. True arguments of a noble mind, that relying on his owne vertue and valour, the very foundations of greatnesse and reputation, scorneth to report partially of his owne actions. VVhich respect was so much the more rare and praise-worthie in *Scipio*, by how much the more familiar and vsuall a thing it is with our souldiers of this age, to talke eyther aboue measure, or without modestie.

But we will now conclude this our discourse, with an Apologie for this our noble Subject, against the base and injurious esteeme of *Pescenius Negrones*: who deuising much talke to the honours of *Marius*, *Camillus*, and *Coriolanus*;

being

being demanded, VVhat he thought of the *Scipioes*? answered, That hee held them rather Fortunate than Valiant: His reasons were drawne from their domesticall life, and delicat bringing vp in their youth. Doubtlesse, I must confesse, that *Scipio* was neither of bodie or disposition so able and austere, as were *Marius*, *Coriolanus*, and the like: But in these indowments onely, consist not true valour, and the excellent parts requisit in a Captaine: Neyther is it commonly seene, That the man who laboureth with his wit, should bee able also to execute with his bodie; but it is necessarie, and very requisit, that eyther the one or the other should haue some repose, if they mind to hold out, and to doe any good. So that a hard life and indurance of labour, benefiteth a priuate souldier, making him thereby able to away with trauaile, patient in extremities, and not lightly to fall, vnlesse by the sword. For such a one, hauing

hauing nothing to doe to trouble his braines, saue onely to obey his Captaine, and to execute his commands, it is not amisse, That hee take rest with his mind, and labour with his bodie; For *Paulus Æmilius* reduced all the offices of a souldier to these three heads: to wit, That he haue a nimble and able bodie, His armes euer in readinesse, and, His thoughts alwayes attentiue to the charge of his captaine. But a Commaunder, because he is to labour and to toile with his mind, it is conuenient, that hee spare his bodie, and that he liue more at ease, and haue all things more healthfull and more commodious than a common souldier; as wee may read of *Cæsar*, who carried with him in his warres his pauements of chequer-workes.

In what things Scipio may be taxed.

IN *Scipio Affricanus* (whom we haue laboured to set forth, as a precedent of the most accomplisht Gentleman that euer liued amongst the Gentils) it doth not appeare, that hee can justly bee noted of any other imputation in the course of a ciuile life, than that he took a little more vpon him, than did well become him. For vnto a personage of qualitie, nothing is more safe and necessarie, than to know the height of his owne greatnesse, and accordingly to make vse and contentment thereof. In which respects, *Meltiades* after the victorie at Marathon, and *Themistocles* after the fight at Salamina, had done wisely, had they there put periods to further enterprises. For herein, who can but highly extoll the judicious fore-

sight

ſight of *Octauius Farneſſe*, the moſt noble Duke of Parma: who hauing receiued aduertiſement, That prince *Alexander* his ſonne had forced the inuincible citie of Antuerpe; and weighing with himſelfe, that he could not in that war effect any greater conqueſt, as indeed hee could not, vpon good aduiſement wrote vnto him, that hee ſhould retire himſelfe homeward.

Now *Scipio*, by his diſcomfiture of *Hannibal*, and by freeing of Italie and his countrey from ſo greeuous a warre, and ſo daungerous an enemie, attayned to that eminencie of honour and greatneſſe, as to greater, by employments in actions of warre and valour, during the whole courſe of his mortall life, he could not reach vnto; and therfore (not to looſe any parcell of that great reputation alreadie gotten) hee ſhould not haue hazarded his perſon vpon future actions. But vnaduiſedly

ſpurred on with an inſatiable deſire of glorie, and guided by his fatall errour, hee ſued for the ſecond Conſulſhip, which he adminiſtred without doing any matter of note. And againe, colouring his ambitious deſire, to go the journey of Aſia (as his brothers lieutenant) with L. and Counſell, for any thing acted therein, he reaped no more honour, than in his Conſulſhip. Therefore to great and honourable perſonages, who by their vertues and valour haue once mounted the ſtage of honour and glorie, let theſe leſſons and lines induce them to contentment, vnleſſe by further aduenturing they mind to fall as faſt as they roſe.

And herein, let the Great Captaine, *Gonſalua*, bee their Preſident; who, howbeit many faire occaſions were not wanting vnto him, to doe great matters both in Tuſcane and Lumbardie, yet all theſe notwithſtanding, after

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the conqueſt of the kingdome of Naples, he would not once depart from thence, making it as it were the ſeat and finall repoſe of his Greatneſſe.

FINIS.